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East Europe Report

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EAST EUROPE REPORT

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ECONOMY

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

JULY 1986 ECONOMIC RESULTS SUMMARIZED

Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech No 35, 1986 p 2

[Article by Engineers Marie Hormannova and Alena Polakova, Federal Statistical Office, under the "Information on Plan Fulfillment" rubric: "July 1986"]

[Text] In July (and also from the beginning of the year), implementation of the planned tasks has been favorable overall, even though the expected level was not achieved in terms of the qualitative indicators.

The volume of gross output in industry reached 59.4 billion korunas, which was 3.5 percent more than in the same month last year, while the number of workdays in July, and also during the first seven months this year, was the same as during the corresponding periods last year.

From the beginning of the year through July, gross output in industry increased by 3.2 percent over the same period last year, thus at a rate faster than the (2.6-percent) one the 1986 state plan has targeted for the entire year. The industrial enterprises jointly produced a gross output of 481 billion korunas (at the wholesale prices of 1 Jan 84) during the first seven months, which is 57.1 percent of the planned annual target. There were above-average increases of gross output in the electrotechnical industry, the pulp and paper industry, general engineering, heavy engineering, and the rubber industry.

On the other hand, it must be established that plan fulfillment in industry was again uneven also this year. While overall the production tasks were exceeded (by 0.7 percentage point) during the first seven month, 217--in other words, an entire quarter--of the industrial enterprises fell short of the gross outputs in their economic plans. In physical units, overfulfillment of the economic production plan was the most conspicuous in the mining of brown coal and lignite, and in the production of steel pipe.

During the first seven months of this year, adjusted value added in industry reached 162 billion korunas, an increase of 5.6 percent over the same period last year. In the breakdown of their economic plans for the period from the beginning of January through the end of July, the industrial enterprises fulfilled this indicator 99.8 percent. The shortfall was due primarily to the 275 enterprises (i.e., more than a quarter of the total number of enterprises) which failed to fulfill their plan.

Basic Indicators of National Economy's Development in July 1986.
Increases Over Comparable 1985 Period (in percent)

	<u>Jul.</u>	<u>Jan- Jul.</u>	<u>State plan¹</u>
Centrally Administered Industries			
deliveries for:			
- domestic trade			
at wholesale prices	.	1.7	.
at retail prices	.	1.5	.
- export to socialist countries			
at wholesale prices	.	3.8	.
at prices f.o.b. ²	.	4.0	.
- export to nonsocialist countries			
at wholesale prices	.	-2.7	.
at prices f.o.b.	.	-6.6	.
- other sales for productive consumption and operations, at wholesale prices	.	1.5	.
volume of gross industrial output (at 1 Jan 84 prices)	3.5	3.2	2.6
average number of employees	0.4	0.6	0.7
labor productivity based on gross output	3.0	2.6	1.9
Construction			
construction work performed with own personnel	0.3	2.9	2.9
average number of employees	0.5	0.5	1.1
labor productivity on construction's basic output	-0.3	2.4	1.8
housing units delivered by contracting enterprises to national committees	-37.5	-16.9	-26.0
Procurement			
slaughter animals (including poultry)	3.4	-0.9	-0.5
milk	1.6	1.3	-2.0
eggs	-5.0	-2.6	0.1
Retail Turnover			
main trade systems	3.6	2.8	2.1
Foreign Trade			
export to socialist countries	.	4.1	-0.1
export to nonsocialist countries	.	-7.7	0.3
import from socialist countries	.	2.7	1.4
import from nonsocialist countries	.	10.0	15.8

1. Relative to actual 1985 results.

Fulfillment of the planned commodity production in January-July was 100.5 percent, but within this there were shortfalls in the following planning groups: the glass, ceramics and porcelain industry; the textile industry; and the leather, footwear and fur industry. The annual plan's target for commodity production has been fulfilled 57.0 percent.

During the first seven months this year, the labor indicators in industry developed in accordance with the goals of the annual state plan. The average

number of workers increased by 0.6 percent from the beginning of the year through the end of July. Labor productivity, based on gross output, increased by 2.6 percent (the annual state plan calls for a 1.9-percent increase). Primarily the rise of labor productivity accounted for the increase in gross output. Based on adjusted value added, labor productivity during the first seven months this year increased by 5.0 percent over the same period last year.

The planned tasks for sales of the industrial output in January-July were carried out successfully. According to preliminary reports, the breakdown of the economic plans was exceeded in deliveries to all the principal destinations, although fulfillment was uneven particularly in the case of deliveries for productive consumption and operations; 37 percent of the enterprises fell short of their economic plans (while the overall index was 101.4). Of the enterprises exporting to nonsocialist countries this year, 35.5 percent fell short of their planned deliveries for export to such countries.

In construction during July, the enterprises performed 8.5 billion korunas' worth of construction work with their own personnel, which is 0.3 percent more than in July last year. From the beginning of January through the end of July, the growth of the volume of construction work the enterprises performed with their own personnel (index 102.9) proceeded at the same rate that the state plan sets for the entire year. During the first seven months, the construction enterprises fulfilled the breakdown of their economic plans 100.2 percent overall, although more than 37 percent of the enterprises reported shortfalls.

From the beginning of the year through July, adjusted value added increased 4.8 percent in construction, and the enterprises fulfilled this indicator of the plan 100.6 percent. The increases in construction work in place, and in adjusted value added, can be attributed primarily to the rise in labor productivity. Meanwhile employment in construction is rising more slowly than what the state plan calls for. Based on the volume of construction work in place, labor productivity increased by 2.4 percent during the first seven months this year (the planned increase for the entire year is 1.8 percent); based on adjusted value added, labor productivity increased by 4.3 percent.

In housing construction, the contracting enterprises exceeded their planned tasks during the first seven months. In all, they delivered 19,122 housing units to the national committees during the seven months.

In agriculture, grain was harvested by 12 September on 1,526,000 hectares, 70.4 percent of the grain acreage. Early potatoes were harvested on 73.4 percent of their acreage.

In livestock production, the July procurement schedule of principal livestock products was exceeded for milk, almost fulfilled for slaughter animals, and not fulfilled for slaughter poultry and eggs. The January-July procurement schedule was exceeded for all the principal livestock products.

Public freight transport handled its tasks successfully in July. Fulfillment was 102.7 percent for railroads; 103.1 percent for the CSAD [Czechoslovak Motor Transport]; and 100.0 percent for inland navigation. The economic plan for the loading of freight cars was clearly exceeded (by 4.2 percent),

especially the plan for loading ore and building materials. The average turnaround time per standard freight car unit increased by 2.6 percent over the same month last year, to a total of 4.3 days.

In January through July, public freight transport hauled 374.6 million tons of freight, 2.3 percent more than in the same period last year. Fulfillment of the economic plan was 101.0 percent. In comparison with the same period last year, the volume of freight hauled increased by 2.5 percent for rail freight, by 2.0 percent at the CSAD, and by 7.4 percent in inland navigation. The average number of standard freight car units loaded in a 24-hour period increased by 2.5 percent. The average turnaround time per freight car unit in January-July was shortened to 4.09 days, or by 0.7 percent in comparison with the same period last year.

In domestic trade, the July retail turnover of the main trade systems totaled 22 billion korunas, 3.6 percent more than during the same month last year. The retail turnover's rise in July was above average at the Prior Department Stores (index 108.3), Shoe Stores (108.0), Furniture Stores (107.1) and Industrial Goods Stores (107.0). The retail turnover was lower than in July last year at the Fruit and Vegetable Stores. In comparison with the same period last year, the January-July retail turnover of the main trade systems was 2.8 percent higher; the annual state plan anticipates an increase of 2.1 percent.

In foreign trade, in comparison with the state plan for the entire year, export and import developed favorably during January-July in trade with socialist countries. By the end of July, 56.6 percent of the annual state plan's export to socialist countries and 55.9 percent of its import from these countries were fulfilled. In trade with nonsocialist countries, export and import in January-July lagged behind the targets of the annual state plan.

The currency in circulation on 31 July totaled 58.1 billion korunas, which was 3.0 billion more than a year earlier.

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CSO: 2400/1

ECONOMY

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

MORE PRODUCTION FROM REDUCED FACTORS, HIGHER QUALITY URGED

Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech No 30, 25 Jul 86 pp 1, 4

[Article by Engineer Vaclav Vertelar, first deputy chairman of the State Planning Commission: "Higher Requirements for Quality"]

[Text] At the beginning of July, the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee considered, and the Federal Government approved, the 8th Five-Year Plan of the National Economy's Development, and the operational state plan for 1987. An important task set by the 17th CPCZ Congress has thereby been fulfilled. In the second half of this year, the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly will be presented the draft of the law on the 8th Five-Year Plan. Simultaneously, the five-year national economic plan and the state plan for next year will be specified by lower levels of management, so that all economic organizations may have their economic plans approved by the end of this year. In distinction from the 7th Five-Year Plan, the role of five-year planning is thus being enhanced, and the annual plans for the first two years will be integral parts of the five-year plan.

In the Organizational Provisions for the 8th Five-Year and Its Operational State Plans for 1987-1990 (hereinafter Organizational Provisions), the Federal Government has specified that the tasks which the 8th Five-Year Plan sets for each year are to be regarded as guidelines for drafting the operational state plan for the giving year, and for negotiating the supplier-user relations (unless the government amends some of the tasks).

Agreement With Congress Conclusions

The Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and the Federal Government established that the considered plans ensure the 17th CPCZ Congress conclusions contained in the Main Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the CSSR in 1986-1990 and for the Long-Range Outlook Through the Year 2000, especially the strategic task of accelerating social and economic development, through intensification that is based primarily on the consistent application of the progress in research and development.

The 8th Five-Year Plan fully ensures the basic objectives that the 17th CPCZ Congress has set and, in the case of a number of tasks, the upper limits of their specified range. In terms of most aggregative indicators of economic

development, a noticeable acceleration of the growth rate is expected over the preceding five-year period:

	7th 5-Yr Plan 1985/1980 (report)	Main Guide- lines (17th Congress)	8th 5-Yr Plan 1990/1985 (plan)
Produced national income	111.5	118-119	119
Industrial output (at 1984 prices)	112.7	115-118	115.8
Construction (basic output)	98.7	110	109.8
Farm output*	109.8	106-107	106.9
Personal consumption	105.0	111.6	111.9
<u>Investment*</u>	102.5	110-112	110.4

*Indices of five-year volumes

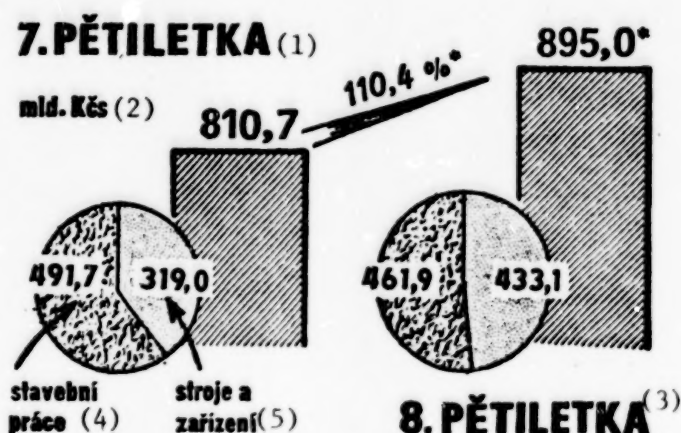


Figure 1. Volume and Structure of Capital Construction Under 7th and 8th Five-Year Plans (billion korunas, 1981-1985 report, 1986-1990 plan)

Key:

- | | |
|-----------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. 7th Five-Year Plan | 4. Construction work |
| 2. Billion korunas | 5. Machinery and equipment |
| 3. 8th Five-Year Plan | |

*At 1986 prices; at 1985 prices, 900 billion korunas plus 11-percent increase.

Acceleration of the economy's development is based on, and ensured by, the demanding tasks in the development of the principal qualitative indicators, and other measures to implement the national economy's intensification. This is most conspicuously evident in the planned reduction of the material intensity of producing national income. Produced national income is to grow at a faster rate (by 19 percent) than the social product (by 12 percent) and, for the first time, faster growth is planned for national income than for industrial output.

In accordance with this, the following assumptions are being made:

--That the energy intensity of producing national income will be reduced on average by 2.9 percent a year (as compared with 1.5 percent under the 7th Five-Year Plan);

--That metal consumption per unit of national income produced will be reduced on average by 3.5 percent a year;

--That the transportation intensity will be reduced by 12 percent (as compared with 8.6 percent under the 7th Five-Year Plan);

--That the proportion of material costs within output will be reduced on average by 1.5 percent a year (as compared with 1.1 percent under the 7th Five-Year Plan); and

--That the productivity of social labor will rise faster, by 17 percent (as compared with 9.2 percent under the 7th Five-Year Plan).

Investment policy--the means of achieving progress in research and development, structural changes, and the entire process of intensification in general--is subordinated entirely to these tasks. The overall proportions of national income's production and expenditure enable us to anticipate 895 billion korunas of total investment under the 8th Five-Year Plan (see Fig. 1).

The proposed rapid growth of machinery and equipment deliveries ensures an improvement in the structure of capital construction and permits an increase in the share of total investment earmarked for the modernization and reconstruction of the plant and equipment of our production base. Of the new investment starts in industry (without the fuel and power industry), 60 percent are in the nature of reconstruction and modernization projects. Nearly 75 percent of the volume of machinery not included in the projects' budgeted costs will be supplied for this purpose.

The 8th Five-Year Plan provides for progressive structural changes, in accordance with the Main Guidelines: i.e., for a gradual reduction of production's material, energy and capital intensity, and for an improvement of the technological level and quality, based on significant innovations in production.

The strategy of accelerating economic and social development is reflected the most clearly in the final result: in the significant acceleration of the growth of national income's domestic expenditure.

Average Annual Growth Rates of National Income (percent)

	7th 5-Yr Plan (preliminary report)	8th 5-Yr Plan (plan)
Produced gross national income	2.2	3.5
Spent national income	0.6	3.0

The average annual growth rate of national income's domestic expenditure under the 8th Five-Year Plan will be five times greater than under the 7th Five-Year Plan, while the roughly 60-percent acceleration of produced national income's growth rate will permit a further rise of the living standard, the solution of environmental problems, and modernization of the country's production base and defense capabilities.

The growth rate of personal consumption is expected to more than double (to 2.3 percent a year on average) in comparison with the 7th Five-Year Plan (1.0

percent a year). This is based primarily on the retail turnover's faster growth (from a growth of 5.3 percent or 15 billion korunas under the 7th Five-Year Plan, to 14.3 percent or 42.5 billion korunas at 1985 constant prices, under the 8th Five-Year Plan).

The approved 8th Five-Year Plan's tasks are indeed demanding, especially in comparison with the 7th Five-Year Plan. In view of our society's requirements and the need to keep pace with world development, however, the tasks must be regarded as minimal, and further opportunities for efficient and dynamic development will have to be sought in the course of the five-year plan's specification and fulfillment.

Five-Year Plan's Second Year

The operational state plan for 1987 has been drafted as a part of specifying the 8th Five-Year Plan's tasks for next year.

Orientation on consistently implementing the 17th CPCZ Congress conclusions regarding the economy's development under the 8th Five-Year Plan demands that the tasks of the operational state plan for 1987 be measured against 1985, i.e., against the five-year national economic plan's base. This is intended to eliminate speculation about the expected plan fulfillment this year, in conjunction with setting the base for next year's operational state plan.

In view of the conditions that are arising, the state plan for next year is pursuing particularly the following most important tasks:

--To consistently implement the decisive qualitative tasks of improving the efficiency and quality of all work, and maintaining on this basis a 3.5-percent growth of national income in 1987 (a 7.2-percent growth over 1985).

--To comprehensively ensure the demanding export tasks that stem from Czechoslovak participation in integration projects in the Soviet Union, and also from the need to resolve certain new influences and more difficult conditions, which lately manifest themselves in the development of world-market prices and in the possibilities of selling in world markets. By improving the export structure and product quality, and by perfecting our marketing, we must create conditions for exceeding our export tasks, and simultaneously seek opportunities to save on import.

---To provide the prerequisites for fulfilling the program of fuel and energy conservation and their more cost-effective use, so as to reduce the energy intensity of producing national income.

--To create conditions particularly for the further strengthening of balanced development, and for improving the supply of the population's demand in the domestic market, parallel with attaining in 1987 a 4.3-percent rise of personal consumption over 1985. Primary attention will have to be devoted also next year to fulfilling the deliveries for the domestic market, especially in the required assortment; to narrowing the extent of shortages in the domestic market, and preventing the emergence of new shortage items; and to continuing the expansion of the sale of fashionable and luxury goods, and of food products

of exceptional quality. At the same time, the development of paid services for the population must be improved further.

--In capital construction, to create conditions for concentrating investments in the decisive directions, and for accelerating the process of modernizing and reconstructing our plant and equipment in the key industries and sectors. Primary attention will have to be devoted to the completion and startup of the projects on schedule, and also to attaining their design capacities sooner.

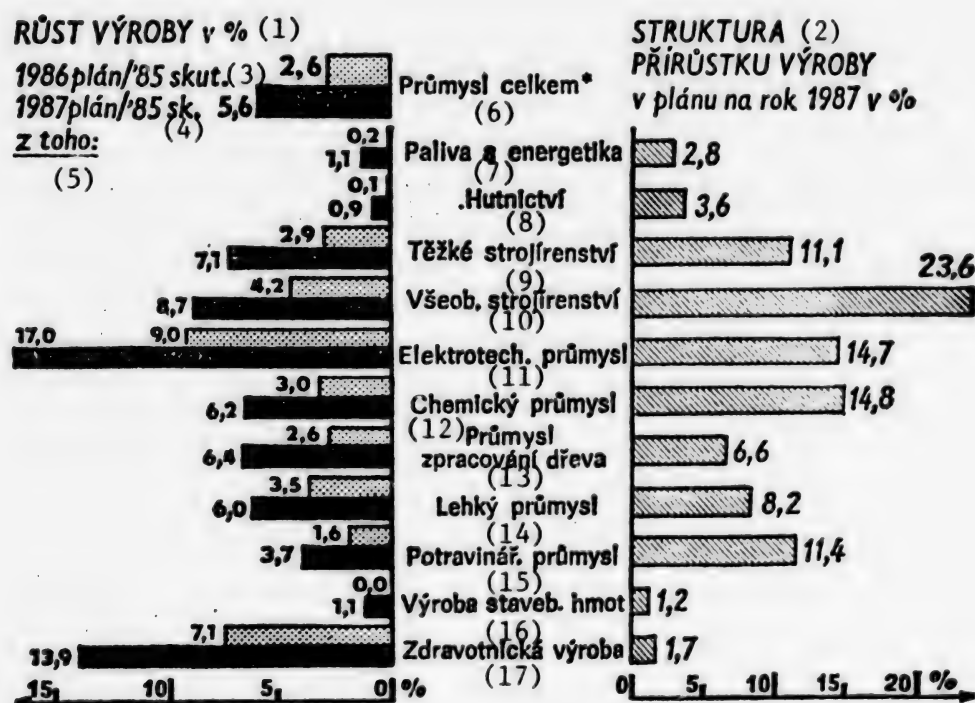


Figure 2. Growth of Industrial Output in 1986 and 1987, and Structure of 1987 Plan's Increase in Output

Key:

- | | |
|---|---------------------------------|
| 1. Growth of output, percent | 9. Heavy engineering |
| 2. Structure of 1987 plan's increase in output, percent | 10. General engineering |
| 3. 1986 plan/1985 report | 11. Electrotechnical industry |
| 4. 1987 plan/1985 report | 12. Chemical industry |
| 5. Of which | 13. Woodworking industry |
| 6. Industry jointly* | 14. Light industry |
| 7. Fuel and power industry | 15. Food industry |
| 8. Metallurgy | 16. Building materials industry |
| | 17. Medical industry |

*All centrally administered industry (excluding the kraj national committees)

It is assumed that the development of mutual relations between gross national income and productive consumption, respectively the social product, will improve. Productive consumption's 1987 rate of increase over 1985 is expected to be 4.8 percentage points slower than that of national income, and 1.9 percentage points slower than the social product's. Both the more cost-effective

utilization of all inputs of fuel, energy and materials, and the improvement of product quality and of the products' technical and economic parameters are expected to contribute toward the fulfillment of this goal.

Next year's volume of gross national income intended for domestic expenditure is expected to be larger by 37.2 billion korunas or 6.3 percent than in 1985. This will permit the faster rise of personal and public consumption.

In accordance with the tasks of the 8th Five-Year Plan, industry will develop faster in 1987 (by 3 percent over the 1986 plan, and by 5.6 percent over the 1985 report), and the changes in the structure of its output are expected to continue (see Fig. 2).

Above-average growth is being planned for the output of engineering, which will supply the decisive share of the deliveries for the fulfillment of the export tasks and for investments, including the modernization of the plant and equipment of our production base. The electrotechnical industry will be the industry with the highest growth rate. Fast growth is being planned also for the medical industry [synthetic drugs, vitamins, vaccines, antibiotics and medical equipment]. In agreement with the 8th Five-Year Plan's goals, the increase in industrial output in 1987 will be provided primarily by the industries with the most cost-efficient utilization of the inputs of fuel, energy and materials.

The 1987 tasks for the national economy's other branches--agriculture, construction, transport and communications--are likewise set in accordance with the 8th Five-Year Plan's goals.

Planning, Management

Specification of the 8th Five-Year Plan and 1987 operational state plan at the lower levels of management, and the drafting of the economic organizations' plans will present very demanding tasks for every level of management during the next few months. The planned management system now in force will have to be observed consistently when specifying the plans. Further measures will be prepared and gradually implemented under the 8th Five-Year Plan to strengthen and accelerate the process of intensification, parallel with ensuring the unified and more effective operation of the plan and economic instruments.

The Federal Government has set the time limits for specifying the 8th Five-Year Plan (and the operational state plan for 1987) as follows:

--Specification of the plan at the level of the economic production units must be completed by 4 August; and at the enterprise level, by 5 September of this year;

--Increased attention must be devoted to negotiating the supplier-user relations for the plan's specific tasks. Contracting must be completed by 10 October at the enterprise level, by 7 November at the level of the economic production units, and by 1 December at the ministry level;

--The drafting of the economic organizations' five-year and 1987 plans, which must reflect the results of counterplanning, must be completed and discussed

with the trade unions so that the ministries may approve the 1987 plans of their economic production units by 15 December, and the latter may approve the plans of their enterprises by the end of December.

These are the organizational prerequisites. The quality of the plan is decisive, however. In the course of completing the drafting of the 8th Five-Year Plan it became evident that the necessary qualitative change has not occurred as yet in the economic agencies' approach to the new tasks at every level of management. Therefore it is essential that every enterprise and plant prepare already now, consistently and without delay, specific measures to save even more fuel, energy and materials. And preparations must be made for the consistent practical application of efficient R&D results and inventions. Naturally, these results and inventions must be of the kind that make production or sales more efficient, increase labor productivity, and improve the quality and technological level of the products. Increased attention must be devoted to preparing the capital construction plan. The unjustifiable pressures for an unrealistic number and volume of investment starts in 1987 are continuing. It is to be feared that the volume of outlays on investments in progress might increase, and thereby also the construction time of the projects might become longer. Therefore the urgency of the individual projects must be assessed anew. Preference must be given to the efficient modernization projects that will yield a return soon. This, then, is a set of tasks which are very demanding, organizationally and substantively in particular. The fate of the 8th Five-Year Plan will depend to a large extent on how well these tasks are ensured, and how successfully they are fulfilled.

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CSO: 2400/9

ECONOMY

HUNGARY

HUMOROUS PROSPECTS OF BUDAPEST STOCK MARKET

Budapest ELET ES IRODALOM in Hungarian 5 Sep 86 p 3

[Article by Miklos Vamos: "HUMM, I'd Like to Play the Stock Market"]

[Text] According to the stories, my maternal grandfather kept telling the apprentices, "This is not a stock market, you have to work here!" He was a cabinet-maker; he died when I was seven years old, in 1957--that is, when one already (or still) couldn't talk about apprentices or private shops, when biedermeier--that was his favorite style--had (also already) gone (and was still) out of style.

I often think, what would his fate have been, had his sick heart allowed him to live today? Presumably he would have gotten his license back as soon as he could have--at the beginning of the sixties--and by now he would be one of the nouveau riche; there is a shortage of good cabinet-makers. Of course, by now he would have retired, since he would be over the age of ninety. He would find a lot of things strange, for example, the rumor that the Hungarian stock market will open soon.

You mean, you have not heard about this yet? I am surprised. It is also repeated by the know-it-alls of this city that the authorities asked a television personality with economic expertise if he would take charge of revitalizing this institution. I won't be surprised if this turns out to be true. Why couldn't a professional reporter for Hungarian Television become the manager of a stock market, if one of the cameramen from the said television company could become a dealer at the Hilton's casino, if we can find a set designer who is now a parking-lot attendant, and an assistant director who is an antique dealer

As long as we are talking about television, we could mention other points of contact it has with the citadel of barter economy. The Budapest stock market used to operate where we now find the headquarters of the television--in the Szabadsag Square building that is chronically being renovated. I doubt that the television people would move out. I also doubt that we could get through this affair without seeing the construction of a monstrosity of an office building. The first one to occupy such a building would be the television newscasting system. I have been to various stock exchanges around the world, I saw the horrifying multitude of screens; there is no longer enough time to

scribble the prices on boards, computers conjure them up on monitors, indicating changes within fractions of a second. Those who work here are forced to adjust themselves to this speed: they get around exclusively by running, they speak by jabbering and yelling. Even my grandfather could not have demanded a more intense work pace from his apprentices.

He was surely not referring to the idleness of the employees but of those who make their money off the stock exchange: the coupon clippers. As early as grade school we learned that these people belong to the most despicable type of exploiters, they spend their lives in overstuffed chairs, with bundles of stocks in their hands and a pair of scissors. While the worker sweats on the assembly line, they just go: "Snip!" and money pours in. Excess profits. These coupon clippers were introduced to us through a graphic textbook figure: he was fat, had a knobby forehead and bulging eyes. It was also at that time that scrounging around amidst the family junk, I happened upon some pre-war illustrated papers--TOLNAI VILAGLAPJA, SZINHAZI ELET--where they painted a different picture of the stock market speculator. I could read about lucky young men who bought up securities for a pittance when there was a fall in prices, so that they could then have their share of fame and fortune, when the time for a rise in prices came. I still remember the hero of one such complex transaction: This certain Pankhurst (or was it -hirst?) supposedly went to bed as a messenger boy and woke up as a millionaire.

Years ago, while riding the Paris Metro, I observed a rather thin gentleman who was hardly older than I was; his over-brushed suit, nylon shirt and proper tie reminded one of a low-ranking bureaucrat. He sat on the vinyl-covered bench of the underground railway, and with his lips pursed he studied the back section of the MONDE, where the stock market news was located. Between Vincennes and Bastille Square he contemplated the columns of figures, and then suddenly an ethereal smile went across his face. He threw the paper under the seat, placed his arm on his knee, and looked around with such a pleased smile as if he wanted to let everyone know that he had already gotten through the hard part. He got off at the Hotel de Ville.

I toy with the idea, what would have happened had we struck up a conversation? If he had revealed the reason for his unexpected joy? If he had let me in on the secrets of the stock market, giving me tips and lending me some money, so that I could smirk in a self-satisfying manner, secure in my future wealth? But then how would it look if a Hungarian writer played the stock market? I fear that this would arouse contradictory feelings in my readers if it were revealed that I--let us say--am doing business with stocks from African gold mines. I would not even dare to list the resulting mass of legal complications relating to foreign currency.

Albeit money does not have an odor, and amidst our wilting economic circumstances there is increasing demand for the gentlemen (comrades) and ladies (female comrades) who are able to maneuver in the jungle of the international exchange market. We wish there were many more among us who could tell, will the dollar continue to weaken, the price of oil fall, the Dow-Jones averages decline? The latter is broadcast daily by any of the American television stations; it is a kind of average and indicates a change in value of all the stocks in the United States. The reader should not think

that the Dow-Jones is unknown here; it is all over the city that even if individually we do not, our country does play the stock market a little bit; deep within one of our institutions there exists a certain stock market section (department? division?) that, albeit with a modest foreign currency supply, but actively, tries to pull a few chestnuts out of the fire for our country.

What would my grandfather say about all of this? Well . . . I am not even sure what I have to say about this. Because it is true that every dollar acquired is like a piece of bread to us; the incoming profit--I hope the endeavor is profitable--can flow into our economy like a balm. At the same time here is the hitch, can a state clip coupons? Or any of its institutions? Its enterprises? Its organs? There was a time when we learned that the stock market is the symbol and bastion of capitalism. This must have been a mistake, otherwise it could not open in our country. From the point of view of our topic, it must have been prophetic that during the 1919 Soviet Republic the communist leaders selected the Budapest Stock Exchange as the party headquarters. Jozsef Lengyel quotes from Sari Fonyo's conversation with Tibor Szamuely in Visegrad Street. Sari Fonyo picked the building: ". . . I know it well; I worked there for seven years. I think it is the best for our purposes. It has lots of offices, an excellent telephone system, four exits to the street, two huge meeting rooms, where the agents conducted their business. We must take over the stock market, and we must transfer the secretariat there." And words were followed by actions.

I know from experience that the telephone system in the former Stock Exchange--today's Television--building is nowhere near excellent; nevertheless, I would love to see the scene in which the newly appointed leadership of the Budapest Exchange would take over the building in the manner described by Jozsef Lengyel, informing the cameramen, the lighting people, the directors, the make-up artists, the editors and the producer that "any act of resistance will be met with the fire power of Red soldiers." Later we could commemorate this event as the re-taking of the stock market.

Well, the only reason I am making light of this is so that I can disguise my pride. There isn't a cosmopolitan city which does not have a stock market, so why shouldn't we have one as well? In a certain sense and within a certain framework a type of stock market is already operating in Budapest, in the National Development Bank. We can find the stock prices in the HETI VILAGGAZDASAG, we can buy and sell anything we have; for details please contact the local offices of the State Development Bank. Those who own stocks in, say, the Budapest Furniture Industry Enterprise (Bubiv), or perhaps the Szeged District Telephone or Konyvert, are pleased upon learning that the price did not drop even by a hundredth of a percent from last week. As for those who have shares of PIK-II (?), Comporgan I (??), or Computer Technology and Management Organization Enterprise (SZUV) (???) stocks, they can rejoice! The price of these went up by 0.5 percent! Of course, only PIK-II among these is available to private individuals, while the others can only be owned by economic organizations. The distinction is not clear in my mind; I do not understand why a citizen can buy stocks in the Tisza Chemical Works and not in the Asphalt Road Construction Enterprise; why he can buy stocks in the Centrum Department Store but no gas stocks in the National Oil and Gas Industry

Trust--State Development Bank (OKGT--AFB). No matter, for the time being there is no great difference in the opportunities to make (or lose) money. After thoroughly analyzing the list, it becomes obvious that most prices remained unchanged, nothing declined and whatever went up did so by exactly one-half percent.

Is this good news or bad? Should we celebrate the fact that our stocks are solid, or should we hem and haw, saying what kind of stock market is this where the changes are so teeny and one-sided? Of course, it is possible that these stocks are not yet real, and that stock exchange will deal in something else. Anyway, will it be a commodity or exchange market? Perhaps both? And when it begins operation, will it get a sufficient number of telephone lines? Perfectly operating television monitors? Computers, typewriters, telex-machines, and duplicating machines? Associates who work while running and jabbering? After all of this is solved, will the market be limited to shares of domestic enterprises, or will it also trade foreign stocks? Where will we get the hard currency to do this? If we succeed, and God forbid--or rather, thank God!--we acquire a majority share in, let's say, Pepsi-Cola, who will be the coupon clippers? The Hungarian state? Some bank? Perhaps some foreign trade company? The opposite direction is even more interesting, if perchance Pepsi-Cola would purchase, for example, Hungarian State Railways (MAV) shares. This would perhaps give us a reason to sell our deficit-ridden factories and unreliable manufacturing plants. Perhaps this would get us out of this economic mess? If so, then let's hurry up and do it! But I suspect that it would be difficult to find buyers for these firms.

No matter how this Hungarian stock market affair develops, I am waiting for the time when we can sit in the Metro and peruse the several pages of stock market news in the NEPSZABADSAG: We can cheer ourselves with thoughts of good fortune. We can hope that maybe, just maybe, miracles still happen.

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CSO: 2500/474

ECONOMY

POLAND

SEJM DISCUSSES ECONOMY, REFORM MEASURES

LD291407 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 29 Sep 86

[Text] The first meeting of the Sejm's autumn session started 2 hours ago. Over to Antoni Mielniczuk, our reporter:

[Mielniczuk] Today the deputies will discuss the past and the future of our economy. However, at first the chamber made changes on the agenda that had been published earlier. Two points were added to the agenda: a report by the Commission for Economic Plan, Budget and Finances and a report by the Commission for Legislative Work on the government draft on amending the budget law; as well as changes in the composition of the Council of Ministers. The point concerning a by-election to the Constitutional Tribunal has been struck from the agenda. These are the organizational matters.

Deputy Jerzy Golis presented a report by the Commission for Economic Plan, Budget and Finances regarding the work on draft recommendations on the assumptions for the central annual plan for 1987 and on the draft state budget for next year. The forecast concerning the fulfillment of this year's tasks is generally favorable. Industrial production and work productivity are growing. Agriculture has achieved good results. Investment discipline has improved. However, negative phenomena also exist: wage increases exceeding the plan, and failing to fulfill the export tasks fully. The conditions for fulfilling next year's plan will also be influenced by the low increase in employment as well as the low supply of fuels and raw materials. This calls for a better use of intensive development factors, achieving higher production through better productivity, decreasing material and energy use and better utilization of the production mechanisms. Natural environment protection and the development of the education infrastructure have been treated as priorities. Also, 2,000 hospital beds will be handed over for use and the number of places in nurseries and kindergartens will increase.

Deputy Golis, continuing his report, discussed the elements of the second stage of the reform that is intended to apply next year. The main aim is a faster achievement of equilibrium, particularly money and market equilibrium. The commencement of systematic work on the review of organizational structures is envisioned, as well as greater discipline

concerning wages and salaries. The demands of equilibrium do not allow a situation where an increase in incomes of the remaining groups of the population exceeds the pace of increases in retail prices. The latter should come to around 14 percent per year, taking into account the effects of this year's decisions; and about 8 percent after 1 January 1987, excluding increases in prices of alcohol and tobacco. Proposals to limit subsidies and make the prices of fuels and raw and other materials more realistic are calculated into the price movements. This should strengthen economic pressure [przymus] concerning enterprises.

By maintaining the principles in force regarding subsidies, we would close the budget with a deficit of 2219 billion. In this way, the Sejm recommendations on the need to balance the budget next year would not be fulfilled. Another variant has thus been worked out: A deficit of 212 billion, which envisions a freeze on subsidies. The Commission for Economic Plan, Budget and Finances supports this solution.

Deputy Wladyslaw Szymanski, delivering a report Sejm commissions' work on the government report on the course and results of the implementation of economic reform in 1981-85, said: The discussion in the commissions has shown that the principal provisions of the reform, its line and its logic of changes, which was contained in the reform directions of 1981, have been proven correct and should still stand. The speaker said that systems and system solutions regarding motivation had not kept pace with the correct idea of a much improved utilization of the only vast resource: the activeness and innovative thinking of enterprises and people. Self-sufficiency and self-financing alone are not able to create the pressure to promote higher efficiency. A demanding, all-encompassing market equilibrium and superiority of resources are needed for this. Deputy Szymanski pointed out that the second stage of the reform should be understood as a period of economic pressure.

After these reports a discussion began, which will last until this afternoon.

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CSO: 2600/45

ECONOMY

POLAND

COLUMNIST REPORTS INDUSTRY DISREGARDS NEEDS OF PEOPLE

AU191113 Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 16 Sep 86 pp 3, 4

[Article by Ewa Zychowicz: "More Goods--the Small and the Big"]

[Excerpts] Traveling all over the country and talking to plant managers, I often get the impression that they are not really interested in what customers think of their products. The managers of large industrial plants seem generally to be interested primarily in fulfilling production plans and in technological progress and treat customers' needs as a secondary and less important issue.

This stance was most emphatically expressed by the manager of the Vistula clothing plant in Krakow, who once said to me: "You journalists are naive if you think that customers have any influence on what we produce. Design concepts are worked out at the top, and customers have to toe the line and later on they are glad to toe it."

It is a bad thing when managers view our market like this: "Let us do as we see fit and look after our own interests, and customers should toe the line." The industry's managing cadres have developed such views for many, many years, and the hungry market was grateful for whatever industry graciously produced. It was only when some production sectors began to saturate the market with certain goods that it became clear that customers will not buy just anything offered for sale.

When one tours large plants and sees their products one is often tempted to ask: "Who will buy all this stuff?" Even during the production process it is obvious that things are produced just to fill up the shelves in shops. Well, the problem is that plants must produce in order to provide work for people, to avoid standstills, and to use up the materials that are just available.

One irrefutable lesson in this connection is that our economy still continues to pay homage to mediocrity and to produce goods for the people who are not completely devoid of taste, but who, following the force of habit, will not complain, even though the goods they buy are nothing to write home about.

There are countries in the world--Great Britain is such a country--which are famous for producing certain excellent goods which, although not the latest cry in fashions and not most attractive, are most popular with customers because of their high quality. Every average customer knows where he can buy such goods, which are rather cheap in the bargain. As for the Polish customer, he is in a much worse situation: Whatever he sees in the shops is most mediocre, nondescript, uninteresting, and usually of bad quality. Attractive goods of high quality are difficult to find and buy. Truth to tell, large-scale industry could not care less. Whatever is attractive and meets current needs can be found either in private shops or in small-scale cooperatives and artisan workshops.

I have in mind not only clothing, but also toys, shoes, furniture, and so on. Some branches, including the toy branch, are not represented in large-scale industry, although trade has been clamoring for years for good toys that help develop a child's imagination. Small artisan cooperatives and private producers turn out toys for children, but they are interested in making money rather than in quality and design. The last toy fair demonstrated this for the umpteenth time. As for the most recent leather goods exhibition, some cooperatives created a furor, but large-scale industry cut no ice, except for a few isolated cases.

Of course, it could be said that everything is in order and that it is a very good thing for large-scale industry to meet and compete with private producers because this brings about the variety of goods for sale we yearn for so much. This is certainly a good thing, but what bothers me is the large-scale enterprises' typical attitude toward this issue.

This attitude is marked by a mixture of self-assurance, contempt for the small partners, and disregard for competition. Production cooperation between small and big partners is a rarity, because in general tradesmen and cooperatives have to play the cap-in-hand role vis-a-vis big plants in that they obtain from them the scrap for recycling into production. Cases in which large-scale industry asks cooperatives to produce the goods that it finds unprofitable to produce itself are also rare.

At the beginning of this article I accused large enterprises and plants of disregarding the needs of customers. The same accusation can be leveled against them insofar as their attitude toward small-scale producers is concerned. This typical megalomania can be seen in the case of quality: We are inclined to forgive the faults of industry, but are very intolerant toward every lapse committed by tradesmen, whose needs in manufacturing materials and goods are always met with great difficulties, whereas the demands of the giants are always given priority.

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CSO: 2600/45

ECONOMY

POLAND

DAILY REPORTS COMMUNIQUE ON COOPERATION WITH DPRK

AU301150 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 27-28 Sep 86 p 7

[PAP: "Communique of the 10th Session of the Consultative Commission on Economic and Scientific-Technological Cooperation Between the PPR and DPRK Governments"]

[Text] The 10th session of the Consultative Commission on Economic and Scientific-Technological Cooperation between the PPR and DPRK Governments took place on 26 September in Pyongyang. The work of the 10th session was headed by Deputy Premier Zbigniew Szalajda, chairman of the commission on the Polish side; and by Kye Ung-tae, deputy chairman of the Economic Policy Commission within the People's Central Committee and chairman of the commission on the DPRK side.

The Consultative Commission stated that most of the decisions adopted at the commission's previous session had been implemented, and underlined the conclusion of agreements and the signing of contracts connected with the development of cooperation in coal mining, machine industry, and trade between both countries.

The long-term trade agreement for the period 1986-90 calls for a turnover of goods to the value of R443 million, comprising exports to the DPRK worth R215 million and imports from the DPRK worth R228 million, which means a 97-percent growth compared to the turnover during the period 1981-85. Polish exports will be dominated by machines and equipment. From the DPRK we will import many valuable raw materials for our industry, such as magnesite, zinc, chalk, and others. The trade agreed on for this year will total R83 million, which is 50 percent more than the level contained in the 1985 trade protocol and 66 percent above the deliveries carried out in 1985.

The Consultative Commission gave a positive assessment of the increase in trade, and instructed foreign trade organizations on both sides to perform mutual deliveries punctually.

The Commission's work was dominated by negotiations connected with the development of economic and scientific-technological cooperation between Poland and the DPRK in the next few years. It was decided to develop cooperation in the joint management of the Anju coal basin in the DPRK.

This cooperation involves, among other things, working out technical projects for deepening the coals seams in the Chang dong mine, deliveries of the necessary equipment for this, and the working out of technical projects for other mines.

The possibility for cooperation in the production of mining rescue equipment was discussed. Both sides agreed that cooperation would be established between the PPR Association of Mining Engineers and Technicians and the DPRK Coal Mining Association.

The talks on the development of economic cooperation also concerned cooperation in the production of magnetic clinker, railroad cars, shipping, and electronic goods. It was decided that specialists from both countries would discuss detailed possibilities and conditions governing the development of economic and scientific-technological cooperation in the chemical and light industries.

Cooperation will be established between the central planning bodies of both countries, on the basis of the appropriate protocol that has been signed in Pyongyang.

Both sides indicate their great interest in developing scientific-technological cooperation. Preliminary agreement has been reached on general conditions governing this cooperation, and the draft of such an agreement will be signed at the next session of the scientific-technological subcommission. The Consultative Commission instructed the appropriate organizations in both countries to work out a program of scientific-technological cooperation until 1990. Scientists and specialists from both countries will participate in this work on the program.

The Consultative Commission session took place during the party-state visit of friendship to the DPRK by Wojciech Jaruzelski, PZPR Central Committee first secretary and PPR State Council chairman. Both sides stressed the importance of the Commission's 10th session for the development of bilateral economic relations between Poland and the DPRK.

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CSO: 2600/45

ECONOMY

ROMANIA

PRODUCTION OF COMPUTERS IN ELECTRONICS INDUSTRY

Bucharest REVISTA ECONOMICA in Romanian 6 Jun 86 p 18

[Article by Nicolae Cibu, "Creativity and Intelligence: Basic Resources of Development"]

[Excerpts] Today's world is confronted increasingly with great problems of ensuring the needed energy and constant decrease of raw material resources, with ecological problems raised by industrial development, as well as development in general. In fact, basic elements of any product are three: matter, energy and information. Of these, information is the only one which can be used simultaneously by many beneficiaries: it is not exhausted by use, and can even expand its effect. It is at the basis of human creativity, representing its resources for processing, as well as the most important element for carrying out practical applications.

The volume and the quality of data have reached and are reaching unprecedented dimensions in present conditions, when we are witnessing the data processing revolution.

As concerns our country, beginning with the year 1965, the bases of the Romanian electronics industry were laid through intensive efforts and subsequently strengthened even more. The electronics industry in general, and of electronic computers in particular, developed and continues to develop intensively. Here is an example: Results obtained by the Bucharest Electronic Computers Enterprise in producing the series of CORAL and INDEPENDENT minicomputers not only will achieve important qualitative leaps in the process of modernization of our machine building industry--by executing digital commands for machine tools with the aid of these minicomputers, by monitoring the technological processes and production in general with the aid of computer technology--but also to present Romania as an important exporter of this kind of equipment on the world market. The products of the Bucharest Enterprise for secondary equipment, products which complete and fashion the configuration of each computer according to the need are also important results of Romanian technical creation. Let us also add the fact that the Bucharest Electronica enterprise, whose main effort consists of coordinating and expanding the creative powers of their own Research and Development collectives, succeed in producing on a large scale television sets with a high technical and qualitative levels becoming a major exporter of these types of sets.

These are only some examples which prove, once again, that intelligence and creativity constitute basic resources of development.

ECONOMY

ROMANIA

ALEXANDRU BABE BOOK ON SELF-ADMINISTRATION REVIEWED

Bucharest REVISTA ECONOMICA in Romanian No 30 25 Jul 86 p 27

[Review of Alexandru Babe's book: "Mecanismul Autogestiunii in Unitatile Economice" ("The Mechanism of Self-Administration in Economic Units")]

[Text] A theme of great practical actuality, with deep implications on carrying out the multilateral development programs of the country and improving the economic-financial mechanism in the context of the application of the principles of workers' self-management and self-administration arouses at the same time a considerable theoretical-methodological interest. The volume written by Alexandru Babe, "The Mechanism of Self-Administration in Economic Units," published by the Editura Politica Publishing House [in 1986] represents a recent contribution to the discussion of those complex and dynamic problems. The author considered it necessary to analyze first the terminology used in the specialized literature to designate or characterize phenomena occurring in this area so that in the last chapter of the volume, one can pause on some aspects which point at the content of the process. Thus the relationships, which are established in the concrete economic activity between the mechanism of the operation of self-administration and the economic-financial mechanism as a general economic mechanism, are investigated in detail. Likewise, the author presents the main problems of ensuring the financial equilibrium at the microeconomic level (with emphasis on the industrial enterprise), giving details on creating and utilizing the funds and efficiently integrating the financial plan into the structure of the enterprise plan.

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CSO: 2700/33

ECONOMY

ROMANIA

EFFORTS TO IMPROVE, DIVERSIFY CONSTRUCTION MATERIALS

Bucharest REVISTA ECONOMICA in Romanian No 26, 27 Jun 86 pp 6-7

[Article by Ion Anton, economic director of the Central for Cement: "Diversified, Quality and Efficient Construction Materials"]

[Text] Providing the national economy with the necessary amounts of cement and other construction materials for the purpose of having the steady carrying out of construction activities and the complete fulfillment of planned investments represents the basic concern of the workers collectives in the enterprises belonging to the Central for Cement. In this regard, the measures contained in the program concerning the organization and modernization of production processes and enterprises for 1986, grouped into 22 chapters, call for the improvement of activities in the main areas which directly influence the attainment of production under conditions of increased economic efficiency, and involve the on-time start-up of new investment projects, the improvement of the quality of refractory products, equipment and spare parts, the reduction of the consumption of energy and fuels, the improvement of the organization of production and labor, and so forth. Of the total number of measures scheduled for the first 5 months of this year, approximately 70 percent were achieved, with the rest being finalized.

The workers collectives in the central's units have concentrated their efforts both for the full attainment of production according to the planned varieties of products and for the carrying out of repair work under good conditions and the efficient use of allocated energy resources, in parallel with raising product quality. Thus, during the period that was analyzed the plan was fulfilled for the majority of product types (bricks, refractory products, lime, plaster, asbestos-cement panels, basalt and so forth), as well as for the other indicators. The only exception to this was the physical production of cement where the level of attainment was 98.4 percent as a result both of the failure to have regular deliveries of allocated fuel and energy and, especially, of the lack of raw materials due to the inappropriate operation of the motor pool at the Central for the Exploitation of Wood. Because of the failure to attain the raw materials transport plan there was a loss of approximately 420,000 tons of cement for the first quarter and 810,000 tons for 4 months, a fact which caused units such as those in Tirgu Jiu, Medgidia, Deva and Turda to operate without sure stocks for this entire period.

The results obtained in achieving the production plan were, however, positively influenced by the fact that the equipment and technological line repair plan for the first quarter and the first 4 months was completed. The general repairs that

were carried out during the period November 1985-March 1986 were done quicker than those during the repair campaign of 1984/1985, despite the fact that in most cases the volume of work was greater, placing special stress on putting the technological equipment in a perfect state of operation and ensuring increasing reliability of the equipment. On the occasion of these general repairs and on the basis of the programs that were established at the conference of the chiefs of mechano-power sections and departments in November 1985, along with the repairs to the equipment we also tried to carry out certain work for modernization and improvements which will contribute both to increased reliability and, implicitly, higher intensive and extensive equipment use indices, and to reduced levels of materials, energy and fuel consumption.

Thus, for the purpose of increasing recovered energy resources a radiated heat recovery installation was installed on the plating to the 800 tons-of-clinker-per-day furnaces at CLA [expansion unknown] Tirgu Jiu, CLA Alesd and CL [expansion unknown] Cimpulung, and on the 3,000 ton/day clinker furnaces at CL Hoghiz, CLA Fieni and IL [expansion unknown] Deva, thus providing the full amount of hot water for these units under conditions of achieving an annual savings of 265 tons of coal. At the same time, for the purpose of reducing accidental shutdowns caused by breakage in the screening in the cement mills measuring 4.2 by 10.75 meters and the mixing of the contents in the two sections of the mill - with negative implications for achieving the intensive and extensive equipment use indices -, we have moved to using separating walls (designed in a new construction manner) that have been improved at the cement mills at CLA Fieni, CL Hoghiz and IL Deva. Parallel with this action, the improvement of the cement mill feed system at CLA Fieni, CL Hoghiz and CL Cimpulung by adding electronic sensors with an automated loop for the raw materials feed permitted a five to six percent increase in the efficiency of the mills.

Special attention was given to the general repairs on the 800 and 3,000 ton/day clinker furnaces, on which occasion the lathing of the guide reels permitted the creation of optimum conditions for adjusting the furnaces and, implicitly, for increasing the operations period of the refractory brick. The permanent concerns along the lines of reducing the costs of repairs permitted finding and using certain solutions to reuse certain spare parts (the reuse of the final gears in the reduction unit in the mills by using both sides of the gear teeth as a result of changing the direction of rotation) and to recondition important parts, such as axles and shafts, ventilator rotors, 1,600 kw reduction groups and so forth.

In this area, there are, however, some shortfalls which have influenced the level of intensive and extensive equipment use indices at CL Hoghiz (the installations of mini-filters and extractors using metallic strips), at CL Cimpulung (the use of bearings on 1,500 kw motors, installations of shell rings with detachable sockets and the mounting of improved screens in the cement mills) and so forth. At the same time, even in cases where the planned measures were carried out there were - as a result of certain deficiencies in the organization of these repairs - overruns in the planned shutdowns for repairs at CL Cimpulung, IL Deva and CL Hoghiz.

On the other hand, a series of improvement work established in the repair programs could not be carried out as a result of difficulties in obtaining supplies of certain materials. One example in this regard was the failure to obtain refractory plate in order to make immersion pipe for heat exchangers, which lead to producing these pipes from normal plate steel, a situation where the heat transfer process is effected while the percentage of dust that is emitted into the atmosphere increases because the electrofilter's capacity is exceeded.

Special attention has been and continues to be given to activities to modernize products and technologies corresponding to the provisions in the program concerning the organization and modernization of production processes and the enterprises (the projects that have been drawn up have in mind the assimilation of new products such as ASTM cement, non-flammable panels, dental plaster and so forth), under conditions of reducing specific levels of consumption for fuels and energy and increasing the level of use of raw materials (80 percent grade white cement with a 40 percent resistance). A series of units stayed within consumption limits and even succeeded in reducing energy and fuel consumption (Fieni, for the wet process; Alesd I and Alesd II and Fieni for the dry process). The same situation was also present in the case of the consumption of silico-aluminum and magnesium refractory brick, as well as the consumption of grinding media for the production of equivalent cement. For a series of enterprises, the consumption of silico-aluminum brick (CLA Alesd, CLA Tirgu Jiu and CLA Bicaz), magnesium refractory brick (CLA Tirgu Jiu) and grinding media (CLA Tirgu Jiu, CLA Fieni, CL Cimpulung, IL Deva, CL Hoghiz, CLA Bicaz and IL Brasov) was at a level lower than that planned.

While the levels of planned consumption for silico-aluminum brick and grinding media for the entire year do not present problems (despite the fact that for the first 5 months there have been overruns at CLA Medgidia, CLA Fieni, CL Cimpulung and so forth for silico-aluminum refractory brick, and at CLA Alesd, CLA Medgidia and CLMR [expansion unknown] Turda for grinding media), special efforts must continue to be made on the part of all the central's enterprises regarding magnesium refractory brick so as to stay within and even below the standard levels under conditions of continuing to improve quality. In order to reduce the overruns that have been recorded and to stay within consumption norms, programs of measures were completed for each factory while at the central's level quarterly analyses were organized with the technical personnel from the units concerning attainment of the specific levels of consumption of raw materials and materials and adherence to the technological operations conditions throughout the production process so that all equipment types will produce at their optimum parameters and at minimum costs.

At the same time, we feel that our suppliers can also contribute to the central's units' attainment of plan provisions under appropriate conditions and with minimum consumption. We have in mind the regular and sufficient supply of raw materials necessary to the production of refractory brick, which leads to staying within the allowed limits of the percentage of reuseable materials used in the production network of refractory bricks, with direct implications for specific consumption. We also have in mind ensuring an appropriate reliability for certain

spare parts (guides for clinker transporters, plates for cooling grates and hammers for crushing mills) which leads to the elimination of unscheduled shutdowns of the furnaces and repeated thermal shock, and which increases the service life of the refractory linings.

With regards to energy consumption, overruns were also found here at some enterprises (CLA Hoghiz, CLA Tirgu Jiu, IL Deva and so forth) as a result of a lack of attention to reducing electrical energy consumption in the production of cement with additives by using tensioactive substances at some units (Cimpulung, Deva, Hoghiz). There also was insufficient concern for adhering to technological production parameters and attaining intensive indicators: operating with a reduced level of supplies or with a greater number of furnaces than it was possible to supply with an optimum amount of raw materials. Also, there were fluctuations in the power and frequency of electrical energy supply, and so forth.

Keeping in mind the specific nature of our units' activities, the main stress in achieving the plan provisions is placed on reducing the energy-intensive nature of the products that are made and decreasing specific levels of consumption. In this regard, the measures outlined for 1986 call for priority on actions in this area. Among them it is worth mentioning and stressing:

- the transition of certain 800 ton/day clinker lines at CLA Fieni, CLA Medgidia, CLA Bicaz and CLMR Turda from the wet process to the dry production process (a reduction in the consumption of fuel by 48,500 tons of coal per year and line);
- the tandem operation of the powder mills and clinker furnaces of 3,000 tons/day at CLA Fieni, CLA Alesd, CLA Hoghiz, IL Deva and CLA Bicaz (a reduction in the consumption of fuel by 1,000 tons of coal per year and line);
- the recovery of excess heated air from the cooling grates at the CLA Alesd and CLA Medgidia by using this heat to crack slag (a decrease in the consumption of fuel by 2,000 tons of coal per year and line);
- the better use of radiated heat from all 3,000 ton /day clinker furnaces at CLA Fieni, CLA Medgidia, CLA Alesd, CLA Hoghiz, IL Deva and CLA Bicaz, with a savings of 700 tons of coal per year and line;
- the reduction of electrical energy consumption by 3,600 kw per year in the grinding of raw materials through the introduction of an advanced crushing stage prior to the powder grinding at CLA Fieni and CLA Tirgu Jiu;
- the use of a variable-speed disc-equipped proportioning device at the cement mills measuring 4.2 by 10.5 meters and having a closed circuit, and the achievement of interlocking using electronic sensors at CLA Fieni, CLA Medgidia, IL Deva and CL Hoghiz (a reduction in the specific level of consumption of electricity by 6,800 MW per year and combine);
- the computer management of technological processes at CLA Alesd, CLA Bicaz, CLA Fieni, IL Deva, CL Hoghiz and CLA Medgidia (a reduction in total energy consumption of 1 ton per 1,000 tons of cement);

- the expansion of the use of the new remote position and level indicator using circular motors at the CLA Alesd, CLA Bicz, IL Deva and CLA Medgidia (a reduction on the specific level of electrical energy consumption by 1,500 MW per year and combine).

In addition to these measures, the management at all the enterprises are immediately concerned with actions designed to lead to the improvement of product quality for consumers (the start of production of 78-80 percent grade white cement with a mechanical resistance of 40-45 N/mm² at the CLMR Turda), the more sustained growth of labor productivity (an increase in the vacuum capacity of corrugated asbestos-cement sheet at the CLA Bicz and the additional washing of the filters in the cutting section in the production of asbestos-cement pipe), the significant hard currency savings (by assimilating and producing in-country corrugated metallic dies used in the production of asbestos-cement sheets and finalizing the production technology for ASTM type I and II cements with a reduced alcohol content at CLA Medgidia, CLA Bicz and CLA Fieni), and so forth.

All these actions - the great majority under way and being finalized - will create the conditions necessary to achieve by the end of the year the entire production plan according to the established product varieties, with the lowest possible levels of material and energy consumption and with the highest quality.

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JARUZELSKI ZIELONA GORA ADDRESS

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["Text" of speech by PZPR First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski at the 16 September accountability-election conference of the Zielona Gora PZPR Committee]

[Text] Esteemed comrades, the deliberations of your conference open the post-congress report-back and election campaign. It will occupy the coming months of party work. We are starting with Zielona Gora. Your voivodship is a good reference point. In terms of size and potential, it is one of the average ones. It is not a record-breaker, but on the whole it does rather better than average. It also has its weaker links, bringing up the rear. It is, in a sense, a typical voivodship. The generalization and conclusions ensuing from your experience may be of value to the whole party. That is the way I understood the direction and the content of today's deliberations.

There are 49 voivodships. Of course, it should be the aim of each of them to effectively resolve its own problems and attain even better results. But Poland is a single country. Only ambitions which serve the indivisible whole and effectively strengthen it are constructive. The reforms adopted are directed toward a healthy decentralization. It is natural, then, that they should emphasize independence and initiative. But at the same time this must mean an enhanced sense of responsibility, a rejection of the practice of earmarking funds, of pulling over oneself a blanket which is not big enough and will remain too short for a long time to come. He who gives most should gain most. This principle requires clear criteria and efficient mechanisms, since it sometimes happens that somebody who, as a result of indolence, passivity and mismanagement, finds himself in a difficult situation and seeks help. And he frequently gets it, at the cost of others who are more efficient and capable and who account for higher productivity. Speaking the language of the cyclists we permit freewheeling. In this way a kind of privilege is maintained, a privilege for incompetence, which runs counter to the requirements of the country and the essence of our policy.

A voivodship is a complex organism, comprising many component parts, many cells. Often their quality varies widely. There was no shortage of such examples in the report and the discussion.

In party work it is necessary from top to bottom to show up in relief both the positive and the negative sides. This is, for the period of the consistent implementation of the resolutions of the 10th congress, the only suitable language. It is not enough to be able to say that the voivodship is achieving something. The party must know what is being achieved by each enterprise, by the town, by the parish, by the institution, by the services and in these places what is being achieved by Comrade X, Y or Z. As has been so graphically said by Comrade Maria Swiatecka: It is not a matter of them but a specific person in each case. The move away from anonymity is an extremely important transmission belt between the materials of the 10th congress and practice, life, results.

For many years people came very much more frequently to administrative organs than those organs came to the people. We shall try to change this, to move out to the grassroots the center of gravity of the Central Committee's work. To go forward along this road at all levels--that is the order of the day.

In the same way it is necessary to reduce the amount of paper circulating among the Central Committee, voivodship committees, first-degree party cells, and primary party organizations. The size of instructions, reports, and minutes should be cut down to the very essentials, which should be clear to everyone.

Today's debates on the whole confirm that a businesslike and definite approach is allied to criticism. Self-satisfaction is a short and treacherous development. All-embracing opinions do not lead anywhere. As people of the Marxism-Leninist party we must always remember that there is no progress without creative dissatisfaction, which leads to the removal of wrongdoing, to the overcoming of weaknesses, to the activation of reserves. Now, after the 10th congress, this very characteristic is most vitally essential to the whole of our party.

Comrades! The vision, the signpost, the interpretation of the strategy of Poland's socialist development is a telling proof that we have a full and far-reaching concept of action.

The pregress debater made it a common creation and the common property of millions of Poles. The program stresses the permanence of our line. It ends speculations to the effect that it is a tactical, short-term measure. The work on analyzing it, popularizing it and above all realizing it has begun. The most important thing is to ensure that the program does not end up on a shelf, to become thoroughly acquainted with it, to think it over and to make it a part of every party member's equipment and material for action for the ideological front.

Our party's line of socialist renewal is the main feature of the processes triggered in such a powerful way by the 27th CPSU Congress. These processes are irrefutable proof that socialism possesses an inexhaustible creative potential, creates a demand for new things, and implements the imperatives of the time.

Although we are at a different stage of socialist construction, our approach and philosophy are close to the CPSU line as attested to by the great achievements of our political thought at the 9th and 10th party congresses. We continue to study with attention and to utilize the experience of the CPSU and other fraternal parties. It is our wish that our experience makes a useful contribution to the present achievements of the socialist community. Our 10th congress was an important step along this road.

This congress's successful course and valuable achievements do not mean that we have solved everything. What matters it to translate congress decisions into real results.

Implementation has just begun, and we have moved ahead in the past 2 months, but the decisive tasks of our postcongress activities are still in front of us. These tasks should be the main feature of the accountability-election campaign.

We are not interested in these conferences and meetings as events at which congress resolutions are recapitulated. We want these conferences to devise most specific ways and means of implementing these resolutions. The main question today is not "what?" but "how?"

In order to map out the new tasks correctly we must always bear in mind the previous decisions. The accountability-election campaign will naturally focus its primary attention on 10th congress decisions.

As we know, the 10th congress also reaffirmed the importance and validity of all Central Committee decisions made in the last term and in this way clearly enjoined us to ever return to our decisions, to enrich them, and to ensure their implementation.

That is why it is necessary to sum up the processes and activities launched in the past few years and to account for our decisions and resolutions. It is a question of the ambition and maturity of all party cells and organizations to see that the planned and launched undertakings are completed to the end and crowned with true results.

This also means that it is our duty to watch over the process of suitably processing the proposals submitted during the campaign in connection with the elections to the people's councils and the Sejm. The party does not act "alone by itself" or "only for itself." To lead, direct, and serve is to have trust in and respect for nonparty citizens, to listen constantly to their views, and to reckon with their assessments of party work.

This also poses crucial tasks for our propaganda and for all forms of our dialogue with society. We will make no secret of what party organizations bring to accountability conferences and meetings. We will report on what they are proud of and want to propagate as well as on what is bad and should be eliminated, if necessary by severe measures.

At the Seventh Central Committee Plenum during the last term we launched the slogan of "The Same Party, But Not Quite the Same" and we proceeded step by step in this direction. Today we are able to say that the PZPR is not what it was in the 70's and in 1980-1981. It is not even what it was before the 10th congress. All this is the result of our persevering efforts to obey Leninist principles and norms and to realize profound ideas and evaluations, which were incorporated in the 10th congress program, statute, and resolution. Strengthening the role of primary party organizations is an important line of this progress.

There are almost 100,000 of them. They are active in all environments. Most depends on their ideological attitude and activity, on an open style of work and links with the environments, and especially on effective implementation of the party's policy on their own ground. The aktiv is good if the basic party organization works well. The latter is good if it effectively improves the situation in the area where it is active. Such must be the main standards for party collectives, starting with ministries and central offices and ending with factories, villages, institutions and schools.

We have promised that one of the first Central Committee plenums would be devoted to raising the role of primary party organizations, but we must start right now. It is our wish that all party organizations participate in these efforts so that the plenum in question can be called their own achievement. That is why that plenum will be preceded by a very thorough review of the performance of many organizations, by extensive consultations with their members, and by analyses of the surveys and opinion polls carried out among them.

Small primary party organizations require special care. There are many such organizations throughout the party, including your voivodship party. The 20th plenum tasks in this regard remain in force. High standards of initiative, respectable attitudes of party members, credibility and influence in the community, and effective performance determine the strength and role of the basic party organization. The organizations that promote innovative measures and encourage the development of conscientious, resilient, and talented individuals attract nonparty people like a magnet.

It is precisely for this reason that this year we have already admitted some 50,000 candidates into the party. However, the situation is not the same everywhere because there are organizations that attract no new members or attract only very few of them as is the case with your party. Comrade Andrzej Sieradzki certainly had in mind the areas in which the party is absent when he launched here today the slogan "Establish Party Bridgeheads."

It is our duty to conscientiously account for all the proposals submitted during the general individual interviews before the 10th congress, and treat with utmost seriousness the commitment and trust which interviewees disclosed their views. We think it desirable for primary party organizations to devote special meetings to the results of these interviews. These meetings should be attended by members of the party authorities present at these interviews, by members of the party leadership, and by members of voivodship committees.

Our proworker course is now more clearly delineated than ever before. The participation and activity of workers in party committees and problem commissions, and also in the Central Committee, have increased. After the 8th congress workers constituted almost 21 percent of the Central Committee, after the 9th congress 36.5 percent, and after the 10th congress 40 percent.

We have set up Worker and Peasant Inspectorates [irch], which are actively expanding their work. At the committees there are consultative and advisory teams in which workers play a wide-ranging part; among them there are also nonparty workers. This, however, cannot be allowed to demobilize. It happens that the participation of workers is formal, sometimes only decorative. To create such conditions that the workers feel that they are a truly vanguard force the main managers [gospodarze] of socioeconomic life--that is our great programmatic responsibility. To strengthen the link between the party and the peasants continues to be our task, to strengthen their role in the political, socioeconomic and cultural progress in the rural areas.

A matter of great importance continues to be party activity among the intelligentsia, engineers, teachers, doctors, creators of science and culture; to win over and gather together men of intellect, people who are ambitious and energetic, creators and innovators. These very characteristics comprise the basic criteria of our cadres policy. One must not undervalue merits, waste the priceless potential of experience, or make change an aim in itself. But especially today one must not allow routine, stagnation or fossilization to prevail.

In the party and, especially, in the voivodship in which the average age of people is lower than the national average, it is necessary to extend the opportunities for promotion of the best and talented representatives of the young generation.

We do not think deeply enough about what we should do to make basic party organizations more attractive to the young. This is a matter of both their content and the form of their work. The party has young activists, although there are still too few of them. They have passed the difficult test of the last few years; they are idealistic, committed, they think for themselves, they sometimes show little humility when faced with time-honored patterns [schematy]. This is a characteristic that is natural and positive.

However, both patience and ability to understand and utilize it properly are needed, while we abandon the desire to shape the young comrades in our own image. Criticism, which is a characteristic of young people, is a great potential ally in the persistent striving for the situation in which the word Poland is associated with the idea of a well-organized nation and a country of effective work and modernity in the service of people.

One should work in such a way that each day amounts to a step forward and to enduring changes for the better, however small they may be. This is our road.

Comrades, the economy, its deep qualitative transformations, and the transfer to the path of intensive development and acceleration are a sphere of special activity of the party. Positive trends in the implementation of this year's plan, which were initiated in previous years, are being maintained in many areas. At the same time negative phenomena are surfacing. The growth of industrial production is relatively high and exceeds the plan provisions. However, in the summer months, particularly in August, the production rate slowed down. This arises partly from the shortage of raw and other materials.

I listened with attention to the comrades' opinions on this subject. We know that these difficulties are trying. Industry has recently been affected by smaller supplies from imports which, as regards the hard-currency zone [drugi obszar platniczy], is connected with unfulfilled planned tasks concerning export. Disruptions have also affected a number of enterprises that pay for their imports from their own hard-currency allocations.

The government has embarked on rectifying this mechanism. However, it must be stressed yet again that a long-term, lasting improvement in import supply can take place only by way of imparting dynamism to export production; Comrade Wiktor Gruca said today that such opportunities exist, both in the sense of major exports and minor exports which, however, add up to major ones. But the nub of the matter lies in sparing, rational utilization of raw and other materials.

There is no alternative prospect to growth in output, with limited growth in supply. Progress in reducing energy consumption and consumption of materials in production, though faster than in the past, is still inadequate. Frequently the following occurs: On the one hand one has demands on an inadequate supply, and on the other, wastefulness--both the wastefulness that arises from uneconomical technology and that caused by unconcern, extravagance and failure to observe qualitative norms.

This applies to raw and other materials, fuels, and energy. For example, control checks carried out by the Supreme Chamber of Control in the Zinstal plant discovered building materials, such as cooling plant and ventilators, exposed to the elements. The Lubsk communal economy and housing enterprise was unable to account for the presence of zinc metal sheets, cement, paints, and other material worth over 21 million. It is also a frequent occurrence that some enterprises amass excessive stocks of materials of which other enterprises are short.

Difficulties in the flow of manufacturing materials are also being caused by the enterprises' failure to honor cooperative contracts. At times suppliers insist on fulfillment of unjustified demands before they sign such contracts.

For example, the Warski shipyards in Szczecin, which rely on the cooperation of some 700 plants, were unable to obtain full supplies from some 80 percent of contractors in 1980. These contractors demanded additional perks such as investment funds, reliefs in income taxation, and payments of bonuses.

To counter these features it is necessary to tighten economic sanctions and to create a climate of respect for contracts and for the deadlines for fulfilling contracted obligations. Party organizations should be particularly instrumental in seeing that this is the reality.

In the long run the task of harmonizing the flow of supplies with the development of the economy depends on the measures to reduce to a great extent the energy- and material-intensiveness of production. A crucial task in this connection is a review of designs and technologies, which will impose great commitments on administration, self-management bodies, and the Supreme Technical Organization branches. We also count on the cooperation of party organizations. In this connection it is worth recalling the truth that only a thrifty nation can become rich.

And now a few words about agriculture. We have good results, record results. This is the result of the self-sacrificing work of the farmers, and those working in the rear, in supplying agriculture with the industrial means of production. However, the yields vary widely. While some are obtaining 60 quintals per hectare or more, others, with similar conditions for cereals, obtain only 20 quintals.

Large-scale differences also occur in your voivodship. In Siedlec Gmina, family farms sell some 40 grain units from a hectare, but in Dabie Gmina, in which soil conditions are about the same, family farms sell only 16 such units. The Rosin producer cooperative has produced 48 quintals per hectare and the Zagan state farm has produced over 40 quintals for a second year now, but the Krosno and Nowogrod state farms never produce more than 25 quintals.

As you can see, our farming possesses enormous unused production potential. This was also attested to by the recent stockbreeding exhibition in Warsaw and by the farming show in Szamotuly. There were cows on show which produce three times the national average of milk yields. We also saw grain seeds capable of producing 70-100 quintals of grains per hectare-- amounts that do occur in practice. Of course, while only very few farmers can beat various records, every farmer is able to raise his productivity.

One of the obstacles is the negligible progress in integrating small and scattered fields. It has been estimated that boundary strips alone on peasant farms occupy over 150,000 hectares. Access roads also amount to this figure.

I must state self-critically, as head of government at that time, that certain articles of the 1982 law are having an adverse effect on integration of fields. The initiative of the Department of Land Husbandry and Agricultural Machinery is also inadequate. Although an appropriate amendment to the law has now been prepared, its effectiveness will depend mainly upon action and upon people.

A wide range of tasty bakery products like in the neighboring countries need not be a rarity. We know that the network of bakeries contains gaps. But before new bakeries appear, a lot can be done to improve existing ones by being careful and adhering to technological norms. The same applies to dairy products.

Housing construction delays are becoming worse. Of course this depends to a major extent on the situation in the entire economy. The construction of housing is, after all, shared by steelworks, cement works, chemical plants, and timber industry enterprises.

When the housing clause of the August accords was signed 6 years ago, this was preceded by a year in which cement production almost reached 20 million tons and that of rolled-metal goods almost 13.5 million tons.

In 1981, cement production fell to 14.2 million tons, and that of rolled-metal goods 11 million tons. The drastic fall in production and national income, and thus a deterioration of the conditions governing housing construction, can still be felt to this day. So let those who helped bring about the collapse at that time refrain from holding us to account for the accommodation difficulties.

This does not mean that today we are building as much as the gradual re-establishment of the precrisis production level permits. Regardless of the long-term undertakings, already today we can build more housing more quickly and cheaply with the resources we have at our disposal. Some construction enterprises are reaping financial advantages and are boosting wages while reducing the amount of finished apartments. It is essential to sharpen the economic instruments which compel financial results to depend on production results, in this case the number of completed apartments. Extending construction time must become unprofitable.

A comparison of the building results achieved by different voivodships illustrates the possibilities that exist of accelerating housing construction. I spoke about this at the Second Central Committee Plenum, among other places. There are huge differences in construction time and costs between different voivodships, although the same conditions reign. It is essential to rapidly propagate the solutions and methods used by the best enterprises. In our voivodship there is a successful development of small housing cooperatives, factory construction, and construction sponsored by others. Your results are not the worst, but still more may be built by striving to emulate the best experience.

The construction materials economy on a national scale leaves much to be desired. We expect the government to quickly set in order the rules and procedure governing accommodation exchange, and we expect regional authorities to fill premises that are vacant or serve non-accommodation, including office, purposes. Concerning this last point, a review of organizational structures could bring certain results. Party organizations should keep an eye on this social issue.

The Politburo recently examined the results of controls regarding the allocation of communal and cooperative housing conducted by the Worker-Peasant Inspectorate. It noted many discrepancies. These occur in your voivodship as well. We will see to it that the administration and cooperative movement consistently implement the conclusions stemming from these controls.

The housing cooperative movement requires a breath of fresh air. Some housing cooperatives have become a kind of administrative branch hiding behind a cooperative sign. The self-management factor is weakening. We are in favor of cooperatives, and that is why we insist that party members must not tolerate any distortions of this worthy idea.

In the housing and communal services economy and in all issues connected with one's place of work and living conditions, responsible tasks face the people's councils, territorial self-government bodies, and party members active inside all these. In particular, one must not forget the possibilities at the disposal of local organizations, who include many experienced comrades in their midst. Let me add that even in your voivodship, the people's councils and self-management bodies are still a long way from fully using all their statutory powers and possibilities, despite all their progress.

Brigade forms of work organization are a feature that sharply outlines the difference between a chance and the use of that chance and between initiative and passiveness. Brigades are still incapable of breaking their experimental restraints. Those enterprises that use this method are few. The achievements of Zieloba Gora Voivodship are also modest. I have been told that only 14 enterprises have brigades. But the results can already be seen. In the "Elterma" plant, thanks to the brigade system, productivity has risen by almost 20 percent, with a simultaneous improvement in quality of production. We must promote collective forms of work organization in every plant where conditions permit.

We are aware of the painfully felt difficulties with fuel. This problem recurs at meetings of the Politburo and Council of Ministers. For 3 years supplies of hard coal to the market have been increasing, particularly supplies to the agricultural population. The demand is growing, however, and will continue to grow even more quickly. Every new house and apartment, school and hospital, increase in industrial production and expansion of animal breeding create it. And coal extraction can only increase very insignificantly. Neither can we cut exports. Stabilization of the fuel market, therefore, requires primarily a fundamental rationalization of consumption and also a streamlining of distribution. It happens that coal does not reach places it should. For example, allocation has lapsed for various reasons. It is estimated that this applies to more than 1 million metric tons a year. The problem thus requires scrupulous and urgent verification.

Our black gold, the result of hard work by the miners, including on every Saturday, must enjoy more respect. A radical improvement in the management of coarse coal is particularly vital. Industry must introduce fine coal instead of it. An important task is to convert fuel installations into more efficient and economical ones and also to strictly enforce the saving of heat. In this context, it was rightly said that great possibilities are opened up by the use of mineral wool produced by the new plant in Cigacice. It is essential to promulgate inventions quickly, which cut fuel consumption. An example is the burners constructed by Engineer Jan Swirski's team and engineer Jan Schiller's design for modernizing steam boilers.

Comrade Jerzy Wardega said today that the "Dozamet" plant is already converting its boilers to burn fine coal. This is outstanding proof of how much can be done without waiting for centrally-managed, expensive investments. For all decision-making, an exact knowledge of the situation, the circumstances and conditioning factors attendant on it, is essential. In the economy too, this is an essential condition. I have a reliable supreme chamber of control assessment of the truthfulness of some reports sent to the statistical offices. Some of them contain unintentional distortions. The statistical institutions cope with these, with an effort, but they somehow cope. Some, however, are characterized by deceptions and intentional distortions. False reports to the center naturally have a negative bearing on decision-making. Evil must meet with an instant reaction before it spreads and proliferates. This is in fact a crime, and this is the course these cases will be made to take. For this reason among others I am not giving any details.

The main statistical office should be a penetrating watchdog over the accuracy of reports; its local bodies, equipped with sufficient powers to stop us having apartments on paper or fictional prospects for materials and energy-saving, should stop us, in effect, building castles on ice. Concern for reliability of information, which was stressed by Comrade Edward Kwiecinski, must be an organic characteristic of every party organization, the entire management cadre, every honest member of the worker collective.

Comrades, we are entering on the long-term undertakings announced by the 10th congress. It is they which will decide on acceleration. They will find expression in the draft economic development plan for 1985-90, which will be put before the Sejm in the next quarter.

The implementation of the 5-year plan will require that we proceed to the second stage of the reform. The essence of this stage will be the consistency of moves putting the economy in order, overcoming various ill occurring in the economy, and implementing efficiency-oriented solutions.

Intensive work is proceeding on this stage. Solutions are being prepared which will permit a more rapid balancing out of the economy by imposing austerity, reducing subsidies, and compelling an adherence to the principles of self-finance.

The policy of some banks vis-a-vis enterprises is too lenient. For example, the branch of the National Polish Bank in Luban did not refuse a loan to the "Fatma" fabrics plant in Pobiedna, despite this plant's bad production results since 1984.

Therefore, economic discipline vis-a-vis state enterprises will be increased. At the same time, we realize that the private sector contains phenomena that arouse profound social concern. This has also been expressed by several persons today. We see this problem both in economic and in class-moral terms. Appropriate action is being undertaken. They have not proved completely effective. New moves are being prepared in concert with the SP, which will curb profiteering beyond limit and pull in more of the national income. At the same time we affirm the permanence of that part of the private sector that constitutes an honest and useful part of our economy, especially handicrafts shops.

By the way, I wish to address a few words to Comrade Wiktor Fanajla, who has tackled the problem of distortions within the private sector with particular energy. We said at the last Politburo session that the participation of young people in the work of the Worker-Peasant Inspectorate is very small. There is nothing to prevent the Union of Polish Socialist Youth from encouraging the emergence of strong, militant groups of young worker-peasant inspectors.

Simultaneously, it is our duty to provide social protection to those in the worst material situation or who cannot fend for themselves.

The second stage of the reform will be preceded by a consultative and explanatory action. The subject, among other things, will be the pace and extent of introduction of efficiency standards and a common answer to the question: faster or slower achievement of economic order.

A policy which stresses responsibility, efficiency and innovations as its priority will not satisfy everyone. The result of its introduction will benefit some, while others will lose out. Those who will find themselves on the frontline of progress, and good and thrifty management will benefit. Those who get stuck in laziness and bad management will lose out. Moving to the second stage of the reform must be characterized by joining economic demands and social aims. Economic coercion in the socialist system is not an aim in itself. It is to serve ultimately a lasting improvement of living conditions. Higher efficiency and moving onto the path of intensive development, as it was stated strongly by the 10th congress, is a necessary and indispensable condition, which cannot be ignored.

We are initiating the great work of accelerating organizational progress-- a general review of organizational structures, including use of the system of job certification in workplaces. This is an extensive and complex undertaking. Its importance may be compared with that of the economic reform it is meant to support.

Those procedures, bodies, and organizational cells that contribute nothing toward the functioning of economic and social life and cause nothing but unnecessary costs need to be rationalized, and in some cases even removed. There are examples of these everywhere--in the administration, services, and the economy. Here is one example.

One food distribution enterprise was organized on three levels. Following controls by the Supreme Chamber of Control, the middle or intervovodship level was eliminated. This strengthened the independence of voivodship branches and encouraged greater profits. Situations like this abound. One need not wait for signals and controls from above in order to reveal them.

The review is entering its working stage. The first meeting of the party-government commission will take place next week. A general concept behind reviews will be worked out. We expect broad opinions, inspiration, and proposals from society. Today's press has published an opinion poll on this issue.

This review must not be reduced to the status of a one-off event. It should be a multifaceted and constant process of organizational improvements and changes constituting part of the socialist renewal of socio-economic life. The party and all its cells must stand at its head.

The certification of jobs is an important part of organizational progress. Its importance was appreciated already before the 10th congress and was expressed in various decisions made there. However, these decisions were not made by many. Today, job certification has become fashionable. Everyone is declaring his readiness to implement it. That is good.

However, there are already two dangers inherent in this. On the one hand there is procrastination. On the other there is haste and a desire to quickly show that the operation of job certification has been carried out.

This kind of approach does not lead to real advantages. Despite intentions, it is merely superficial action. Fortunately for enterprises, announcements that job certifications will be carried out within the space of 2 weeks have to be regarded as misunderstandings.

The "Radoskor" leather plant, which commenced its job review 6 months ago following a year of preparations, has only just certified half its jobs. The point is to prepare oneself properly, gather proper patterns, and define norms and standards. This is essential for an honest and comprehensive assessment of workers posts.

Job certification must be based on scholarly principles. However, it is essential to present the topic in a concise and clear way if workers collectives are to support and understand it.

Telling workforces the truth about this being a complicated operation is of advantage to all those who discharge their duties well today and wish to perform better organized and more productive work. However, it will be

ominous to those who feel comfortable with bad organization and have come to terms with it. In a word, party organizations should encourage a proper climate for job certifications and gain as many supporters for them as possible.

I will dwell briefly on the tightening of our cooperation with the Soviet Union and other countries of the community and about the prospects for socialist economic integration.

A process of gearing our economy toward these paths has been conducted in recent years. This has had and still has great importance for us, especially at a time of profound economic difficulties exacerbated by the restrictive policy of some Western countries. The fraternal help of the Soviet Union and kindness on the part of the socialist countries have made it easier for us to overcome these difficulties. However, this reorientation has been of a primarily quantitative nature. Right now we are entering the qualitative stage, which is occurring at a time when the Soviet economy is intensifying, as well as that of the other socialist countries. This stream of acceleration is presenting broad possibilities for us, too. Joint production and specialization in production is occurring, scientific-technological progress is continuing, and investments are expanding. Poland is a spokesman and adherent of this process. We want to be an attractive and solid partner in it. This is our great chance.

Comrades! The party, in Poland's most difficult period, pointed out the line for struggle and accord, has endowed both these conceptions with the most weighty significance. Only thus could one strengthen law and order in conditions when the state was endangered and when there was a sharp political conflict. Only thus could one create and broaden the plane of cooperation everywhere where it became possible and realistic to do so. With the passing of time and the progress of normalization, the accord came to the fore, it became the dominant element. Its progress was served by the activities of PRON, by the strengthening of representative organs, and by the numerous forms of self-government, the development of independent trade unions and many, many other things, among them forms of socialist democracy which were built from scratch and developed.

Further steps in this direction have been signalled by the 10th congress. Preparatory work and working talks are continuing in the matter of setting up a consultative council, spokesmen for civil matters, and other solutions which would increase the participation and the influence of working people in everything which is taking place in Poland.

Persistently, with the strengthening of stabilization, we will continue this policy. The ambition of the party is that in our country every initiative which serves the good of the homeland be noticed and acted upon, that the voice of every citizen should be heard, irrespective of its origin, if it is accompanied by patriotic intentions, a sense of responsibility, and respect for constitutional principles. The act of 17 July this year on the final release from detention of all persons who had committed crimes against the state and public order was confirmation of

this policy. Poland is a different country from that of 5 years ago. Today, the power of the authorities is measured not by the number of disarmed opponents, but by the number of supporters won over. The time had come when we were able to put this principle fully into practice. The latest stage has been completed. Attempts to fill new pages with the same old words, be they those of before December 1981 or August 1980, are pointless. But above all, they are doomed to failure.

In the past few years the working class and Polish society have expressed this unambiguously. Those released have been given the chance of a permanent return to normal life. Some of them have already demonstrated good sense and a sense of patriotic responsibility. Many have realized that to call everything into question, and act on the principle of the worse the better, runs totally counter to common sense, and above all to the interests of the country.

Others, not yet mature enough for deep reflection or to modify their attitude, should be swayed by ordinary realism toward restraint and moderation. Unity in variety, in all the wealth of forms and content of socialist democracy is what Poland needs. We support such diversity. The more lasting our internal equilibrium, the quicker the country's socioeconomic development, the further those processes will go, the deeper they will reach. On the other hand, diversity directed against, in opposition to, unity can only create conflict, destroy. There can be no place for diversity thus understood.

The program adopted at the 10th congress created a great historic opportunity for Poland. A new phase in the process of accord is taking shape. Guided by this intention, the party appeals once again to those who still feel resentment and hesitation, fear and doubt. Hard work for the good, the prosperous future of our homeland is needed. Nobody in our country is, nor will be discriminated against for his beliefs. Citizens take part in a variety of legal forms of activity. They express critical opinions. They have the appropriate influence on solutions and decisions. Many organizations and associations with different world outlooks, trends of thought, areas and ways of activity, operate on a constitutional basis. The opponents of our system of government, however, understand pluralism as the transfer to a legal plane of activities which, in their essence, are illegal, antisocialist and destructive. Such attempts have no chance. Enough of hide-and-seek. Whoever intends to abuse the magnanimous act to cobble together again some antistate groups, to embark on another round of bringing anarchy to the country must know and be prepared for the law not to be elastic like a rubber band.

The release was received with social approval. But this approval was not universal; many working people, remembering various extremist deeds [wyczyny] and the danger which stemmed from them, express their doubts. We understand these fears. After all, they are based on bitter experience. Let this be taken into consideration by all those who learn too slowly, who think that the nation in its entirety will rejoice that they are being set free.

The decision which has been made has aroused an understandable and, on the whole, a favorable interest in the world. Unfortunately, some western governments treated this decision as yet another opportunity to again dig up various pretexts. The propaganda mouthpieces of the West are presenting our actions as the result of outside pressures. Is it possible that they themselves have so few successes that because of that which is done by the Polish authorities, which stems from the maturity of our nation, they wish to take the credit for themselves? All our sovereign decisions which stabilize Poland's situation, whether they appeal to others or not, stem from an assessment of the internal situation, and are dictated by the realities of our country.

There are other remarks that can be heard, remarks which testify to a mix-up of conceptions. They say that this humanitarian action stemmed from counting on foreign credits; that we wished to soften someone or appeal to another. This is arrant nonsense. This decision is no life belt. We have been in very much more difficult situations, yet we did not ask anyone for magnanimity and alms. Poland trades in goods and not in people. We have given quite enough proof that we are capable of resisting outside pressures, not to speak of attempts to dictate.

It is time for the governments of some capitalist countries, particularly the United States, to stop the various insulting, bizarre speculations, to verify their views on the essence and character of our policy. It is not Poland's concern to have special relations, but normal relations. This normalization lies not just in our interest, but to no less an extent also in the interest of our western creditors. The withdrawal of restrictions, the development of economic relations, is objectively one of the conditions for paying off our debts.

It is said there is no sentiment in business and finance. We don't expect it. However, it is worth recalling that half of Poland's debt to the West is made up by the interest alone. In some years it reached an outright usurious amount, reaching 16-20 percent. Damage running into many billions [unit not specified] was inflicted on our country by the restrictions and various other discriminatory obstacles. So much is talked about morality in the West. Moralizing lessons are willingly addressed at us. Sympathy, fellow-feeling, concern for the good of our nation, is also expressed. There is an opportunity to give this credibility. The point is indeed morality, elementary compensation in the shape of normalization of financial and trading relations, which Polish society has the right to demand and expect.

Comrades! Among the problems and concerns of our times, the question about the further fate of peace in Europe and the world comes firmly to the forefront. It would be hard for it to be otherwise. The course of international events has not been a successful one for several years now. What is more, it is dangerous. Enriched by the 27th CPSU Congress resolutions, the general line of Soviet foreign policy creates a genuine alternative.

The disarmament program outlined by Comrade Gorbachev embraces both nuclear weapons and conventional weapons. It guarantees equal security and broad monitoring of accords. Never before, since the end of the war, has such a bold, comprehensive and rational plan to limit and eliminate the nuclear threat been proposed. In its unilateral decisions, the USSR has demonstrated maximum good will. It has gone very far.

The current state of affairs in this field, and an extensive commentary on the position of the Soviet Union, were recently presented by Mikhail Gorbachev in his interview with RUDE PRAVO. The Soviet initiatives, so numerous of late, do not emanate from the position of petitioner, from weakness. That great and mighty power is giving outstanding proof of its sense of responsibility for the future of mankind at an exceptionally dangerous point in its history.

Unfortunately, another year which has been lost to the cause of peace is passing. The honest, constructive proposals of the Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist community are meeting with evasion, a prevarication and a lack of good will from the U.S. administration and certain Western governments. A particularly striking manifestation of this is the absence of any positive reaction to the extension of the unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests until the end of this year. Moreover, these proposals are meeting with a downright provocative accompaniment: further nuclear explosions, new missiles and bombers, the next step toward the militarization of space, and finally, increased military maneuvers. On this very day, 300 km to the west of Zielona Gora, that is, closer from here to Warsaw, NATO maneuvers codenamed "Autumn Forge" are in progress. Altogether about 300,000 soldiers will take part in this year's autumn maneuvers of the NATO Armed Forces; there will be more than 2,500 tanks, 1,500 planes and 350 ships of various classes.

It is high time that restraint, discretion and an inclination toward compromise should, in the West, become advisors on matters relating to national security. Unfortunately they beat to no effect at the gates of the White House. Priceless time is passing. Armament technology is approaching a critical point. Once it has been passed, mechanisms and integrated circuits, not man, will decide on war and peace. This stems from the very nature of modern technology.

As a military man I perceive the sharp definition of this whole process. If it is not stopped there may come a time when it will slip out of control and the fate of mankind will be left to chance. That is why international problems have today a specific dimension, not only a political dimension, but also a moral one. Never before in the history of mankind has such a great responsibility rested on statesmen, on governments. In the two world wars the victims were counted in their tens of millions; in a third world war they would have to be counted in billions--if there is someone left alive to make such calculations.

For Poland there is but one choice. That choice determines our support for the Soviet proposals, defines the strategic direction of our foreign policy. This policy is fully in harmony with that of the socialist community. Its inter-ally, coalition character is visible also in the practice of mutual information, in the process of continuous consultations, in jointly developing moves in the international arena.

The Polish People's Republic, whose most vital interests are inextricably linked with the processes of detente, with the preservation of peace, will, in accordance with a tradition of many years, act with energy and steadfastness on the international, and especially the European arena, toward overcoming the barriers of distrust and toward building better, long-lasting, mutually beneficial relations between states and nations.

There is a need for an all-embracing look at the issues of our continent. The time has come, putting it descriptively, to prepare a comprehensive and realistic report on the state of Europe, starting with political and military issues and ending with the issues of environmental protection and common cultural heritage. The 50th anniversary of the outbreak of World War II falls in 3 years' time.

In September 1989 we would gladly host representatives of the state-signatories of the CSCE Final Act at a meeting devoted to key issues of peace, security and cooperation in Europe. We want a peace message to be heard from our capital, from the country which first experienced the aggression and atrocities of World War II, so that common conclusions drawn from the greatest war of all time should contribute to better understandings and more lasting agreement among states of our continent.

Only a dozen or so days ago the 1 September anniversary passed. Our thoughts return, as every year, to the self-sacrificing deed of defenders of our homeland, to this heroic page of our history, to that memorable date which has determined so much the fate of Poland and deeply affected Europe's and the world's history. Our nation was on the verge of total annihilation in Hitler's time of total contempt. It lived and fought under a suspended death penalty. Such an experience, rational thought on the sources of the catastrophe, the memory of those who fell and were murdered, must remain in the memory of generations, like a sign engraved in granite. Unfortunately, there is still no shortage of various editors of history who, despite the obvious facts, attempt to justify the pre-September reality, and try to remove the stigma of infamy from the Sanacja clique [followers of Pilsudski after 1926]. Among other things, one purposefully remains silent about the fact that precisely 47 years ago, on 6 September, the Sanacja leadership gathered in the vicinity of a border bridge; strong, united and ready for the retreat via Zaleszczyki.

The national treasure had been evacuated beforehand. The leaders of the time got away with their lives and the coffers intact, but they dissipated the state and abandoned the soldiers--fighting heroically, and the whole nation--to the mercy of fate. Titivating and beautifying this bitter

truth is an unclean mark, a black spot, it is brainwashing calculated to deceive the younger generation, brainwashing banking on the short memory of the older generation.

The new school year has begun. Concern for young hearts and minds springs openly to mind, concern for the state of historical awareness with which today's pupils will enter public life at the turn of the century. For this reason, in historiography, education, journalism and publishing it is necessary to fashion a truthful, balanced picture of interwar Poland. After a century of partition and vain endeavors, the first independent state of Poland came into being, with its own schools, army, offices, and culture. The 20 years granted by history might have been put to considerably better use, but the very fact of Poland's presence on the map of interwar Europe was a priceless gain for our people. We therefore appraise justly the value of those years, a great achievement in unifying the shattered material and social essence of Polishness. We do justice to the efforts of all those who did their best, for the time, to create a stronger foundation for the development of their homeland.

However, it is not possible to change the stern verdict of history. There can be no place for the posthumous forgiveness of a system which disregarded the basic interests of millions of workers and peasants, and did not succeed in ensuring that they had fair living conditions. September 1939 signified the bankruptcy of the bourgeois conception of the state and its policy, and showed eloquently where pathological hatred for the eastern neighbor, and at the same time exotic, unguaranteed alliances lead. Many predecessors of many of today's moralizers said nothing about human rights when the Polish Communist Party was declared illegal, and the prisoners at Bereza were tortured, when the camp was set up in Bereza, and fascist squads were lent support. Repressive anticommunism was a doctrinal principle of all pre-September 1939 governments. Anyone who refers approvingly to them should not pose as a democrat.

It was not the landed classes and their allies who raised Poland from the ashes, and it was not the forces of the reactionary right who enabled us to return here, to the Odra and Nysa. Only the party of the Polish working class, the strength of the Polish left, succeeded in burning discord with the peoples of the Soviet Union and in concluding a durable and reliable alliance with the socialist power, and forging friendly, fraternal relations with all our neighbors. The socialist social system enabled Poland and at the same time Polish Catholicism, to put down deep roots on the land of our forefathers, which had been lost centuries before.

These truths must be proclaimed aloud, in the face of backwardlooking, recidivist illusions and myths. From this standpoint, from the western borders of the republic, one can best see the creative role played by socialism in the history of our people and our state. I will restrict myself to one example only. The people of Wielkopolska, Pomerania, and Silesia, of the older generation, still remember what the Polish-German border region was like before 1939. Prussian chauvinists used to call

it "die brennende Grenze" [phrase in German]--the burning border. In prewar Germany, hostility to Poland was a constant element of policy. The border areas and the so-called plebiscite areas were the first to gain a foretaste of chauvinistic aggression, provocation and terror.

This chapter has been closed forever. The Lubusz land, which has inherited the traditions of the Glogow and Zagan piasts, of the flourishing period of the Jagiellonian reign, and 2 centuries of the unceasing struggle of patriots of the Babimost region, has fully integrated with the motherland.

Today, not far from Zielona Gora, there is a border between the Polish PR and the GDR, a border of peace and calm, friendship and cooperation, linking two socialist states. It is a great achievement of our nations and at the same time one of the main factors of the European peaceful order, contributing to the overcoming of grudges and mistrusts which accumulated throughout history. Friendly contacts are developing favorably.

Vacation exchanges, already in their third year, involved 300,000 Polish and German children and young people in 1986. This is the best school of internationalism because it involves practice.

We attach great importance to cooperation between border areas. The Zielona Gora Voivodship has accumulated many interesting experiences, developing broad cooperation with the neighboring Cottbus Bezirk. Of particular importance are the direct ties joining 62 enterprises, which exchange between each other workers brigades, technological solutions, methods of organizations, and experience in social, and political activity. Cross-border trade is also developing favorably, it reached a value of Z145 million last year. The political, ideological-educational, and material values of this process speak in favor of its further expansion.

The development of economic, scientific and technological, cultural and tourist cooperation with the GDR determines a fuller utilization of reserves inherent in the potentials of our countries. When two sides benefit, the whole community grows in strength. Everything counts which contributes to direct contacts, the exchange of contacts and consolidation of trust and friendship between people. Such a common assessment is expressed by both our parties, the PZPR and the SED.

We believe that like the Polish PR and the GDR, and other socialist countries, the FRG, also could achieve much for the benefit of the whole of Europe and world peace. We expressed this opinion many times. Unfortunately, some politicians in that country have become used to speaking with a forked tongue. One is sometimes under the impression that parts have been allocated here: apart from spokesmen for accord, revanchists who will not miss any opportunity to undermine the legality and irrevocability of the Odra and Nysa border are still on duty and are still active.

These are typical calculations which have run wild. We are interested in expanding dialogue and mutually beneficial cooperation with the FRG. The correct profile of Poland's relations with both German states is one

of the key premises of stabilization on our continent. We declare once again our readiness for broad cooperation on the basis of equal rights with all states, in all areas of international relations. People's Poland is and wants to be a country which is open, a partner, ready for sensible compromises where it is mutually beneficial, and unyielding only when the interest of the socialist state and the good and dignity of our nation come into play.

Dear comrades! It is with real satisfaction that I participate in your conference. This is influenced by its creative atmosphere, its ideological and businesslike values. I also had the opportunity to meet and listen to many people of action who had proved true at work in the most difficult moments and situations. On behalf of the Central Committee, I wish the newly elected authorities and the entire voivodship party organization the realization of what has been decided today; the full implementation of the resolutions passed--a contribution to the socialist development of the homeland worthy of the society of Lubusz land.

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POLITICS

POLAND

JARUZELSKI SPEAKS AT ULAANBAATAR

AU251855 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 23 Sep 86 p 8

["Text" of speech by General Wojciech Jaruzelski, PZPR first secretary and State Council chairman, at the 22 September Ulaanbaatar reception given in his honor by the MPRP Central Committee and by the Presidium of the People's Great Hural]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Batmonh, esteemed Mongolian comrades and friends:

On behalf of the party-state delegation of the PPR, I wish to offer cordial thanks for your invitation to pay a visit of friendship to the Mongolian People's Republic [MPR], for your hospitality, and for Comrade Batmonh's friendly words addressed to the Polish people.

The people's revolution in Mongolia scored its victory 65 years ago, and your people shook off the feudal yoke. The road they chose enabled them to overcome ancient backwardness and to build the foundations of socialism without having to go through a phase of capitalism, an achievement that became a worldwide pioneering experience.

Relying on the selfless struggle and work of the people, led by the revolutionary party, and on the alliance with and comprehensive assistance from the USSR, Mongolia has made great social, economic, and cultural progress. The political authority and militancy of your country in the international arena continue to increase. Our party and people continue to watch your successes with great affection.

The PPR and the MPR are permanent and reliable members of the great socialist community. Despite great distances, our two peoples are linked by true friendship and sentiments of proximity. The ideological ties between the PZPR and the MPRP, based on Marxism-Leninism as well as mutual support and assistance, constitute the foundations of our friendship and mutually beneficial cooperation aimed at achieving peace and socialism, which are our common goals.

The successful development of Polish-Mongolian political, economic, and scientific-cultural relations has been enriched and expanded in the past few years. Our 1975 treaty of friendship and cooperation continues to be

favorably implemented for our benefit and for that of socialist economic integration, and to meet the needs of the international socialist division of labor.

The program for Polish-Mongolian economic and scientific-technological cooperation up to the year 2000 will help to strengthen the firm and long-term foundations of the development of our relations. It is our common task to realize the provisions of this document in the coming years.

Poland's millennium history experienced a new phase over 40 years ago. Embracing socialist changes, our people forever determined the basic questions of their existence and acquired lasting guarantees for independence and for the inviolability of just borders. The achievements of People's Poland are enormous. The postwar reconstruction from ruins and ashes, our revolutionary advancement in civilization, education, and culture, and the industrialization and modernization of our country are the milestones of these achievements.

Every nation experiences difficult periods, and Poland experienced a difficult period at the beginning of the 80's. In line with our constitutional legal order we are able to frustrate the counterrevolutionary plans of our domestic antisocialist forces and of world imperialism. We continue to solve our complicated problems in a sovereign manner. We remember and highly value the fraternal help from the USSR and other socialist countries, including the MPR.

The Ninth PZPR Congress mapped out the line of socialist renewal, which was confirmed and developed by the 10th PZPR Congress. Relying on our achievements in reforming our economy, expanding national agreement, enriching socialist democracy, and rehabilitating our country's international position, the 10th congress defined the aims and lines of our further socialist development. The PZPR program adopted by that congress spread bold, credible, and long-term prospects before the workers class and all the people.

The socialist community continues to accomplish its aims and tasks under difficult domestic conditions. The line of confrontation followed by U.S. imperialism, in particular, and the attempts to pursue the policy of strength, which is calculated to halt and turn back the progressive changes in the world, continue to exert a most pernicious influence on present international relations. These threats have charged political leaders, state activists, and all realistic social circles and groups with great responsibility with regard to preventing the danger of a nuclear missile war, which would mean mankind's annihilation.

The socialist countries, the members of the Warsaw Pact and CEMA continue to follow a militant and consistent policy of peace, and to advocate peaceful coexistence, detente, dialogue, and equal cooperation.

They are unanimously in favor of halting armaments, promoting disarmament, especially nuclear disarmament, and preventing the militarization of space.

Poland and Mongolia continue to fully support the Soviet peace initiatives because they see them as a historic opportunity to liberate the world from nuclear weapons and to set up a comprehensive system of international security. The recent decision to prolong the Soviet moratorium on nuclear tests is a signal proof of good will. It is in the interest of all mankind that the United States and other nuclear powers make similar decisions in following the Soviet example. A treaty on a general ban on nuclear tests would be a proper initial step along the road to nuclear disarmament, and would encourage the curbing of conventional armaments and the repairing of international relations.

People's Poland highly values the MPR's peace policy. The MPR is a constructive and responsible factor in Asia. It was here, in Ulaanbaatar, at the 1981 18th MPRP Congress that the important proposal was made that the Asian and Pacific countries should sign a convention on nonuse of force in mutual relations. We support the MPR Government's efforts to set up relations with all Asian countries on the principles of respect for independence, sovereign equality, and mutual benefit.

Transforming Asia and the Pacific Basin into a region of security and cooperation, in line with the proposal Comrade M. Gorbachev made in his Vladivostock speech on 28 July 1986, would be a great historic achievement for the Asian peoples and would make an active contribution toward consolidating worldwide peace and security.

Our visit, talks, and decisions made here have again most strongly confirmed the lasting and mutually beneficial character of the ties between the PPR and the MPR. We have reaffirmed our mutual understanding and identity of views on the conditions, experience, and methods of socialist construction in our two countries and on the further comprehensive development of Polish-Mongolian cooperation on important international issues.

We congratulate you on your great achievements in all fields of life and wish you further successes in developing fraternal Mongolia.

The qualitatively new phase of socialist development as attested to by the 27th CPSU, the 19th MPRP, the 10th PZPR, and other party congresses, continues to create favorable conditions for efforts to boost exchanges of experience and comprehensive cooperation. I am deeply convinced that we will be able to be equal to this task and its inseparable commitments. It is our wish that this visit should serve this purpose.

I raise a toast to the further increase in the strength and unity of the socialist community; to the further comprehensive development of Polish-Mongolian friendship and cooperation; to the further successes of the MPRP and the MPR; to the health and prosperity of our cordial friend Comrade Batmonh, MPRP Central Committee general secretary and chairman of the People's Great Hural Presidium; and to the leadership of fraternal Mongolia; and to peace and socialism.

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POLITICS

POLAND

POLISH-MONGOLIAN COMMUNIQUE ON JARUZELSKI VISIT

AU010917 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 25 Sep 86 p 8

["Communique" on visit of PPR party-government delegation led by W. Jaruzelski, PZPR Central Committee first secretary and State Council chairman, to Mongolia, issued on 24 September]

[Text] PAP--A Polish party and state delegation led by PZPR Central Committee first secretary and chairman of the State Council Wojciech Jaruzelski paid an official visit of friendship to the Mongolian People's Republic [MPR] between 22 and 24 September 1986, at the invitation of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party [MPRP] Central Committee and the Presidium of the People's Great Hural.

The party and state delegation laid a wreath at the mausoleum of the founders of the MPRP and the people's state of Mongolia, Suche Batora and Chorlogijna Czojbalsana [spelling of names as published].

The guests visited industrial plants and cultural institutions in Ulaanbaatar and Darhan and acquainted themselves with the lives and achievements of the Mongolian people in the construction of socialism.

The cordial welcome that the visitors from the PPR received everywhere, the sincerity that characterized meetings with representatives of the Mongolian working masses and the friendship rally held in Ulaanbaatar were the most recent manifestations of the genuine feelings of friendship and the close cooperation that exists between the two peoples.

W. Jaruzelski, PZPR Central Committee first secretary and chairman of the PPR State Council, and Jambyn Batmonh, general secretary of the MPRP Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the People's Great Hural, held talks in a spirit of complete understanding and unanimity of views on all subjects discussed.

Taking part in the talks were:

On the Polish side:

Jozef Czyrek, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary;
General of Arms Czeslaw Kiszczak, PZPR Politburo member and minister of internal affairs;

Zbigniew Szalajda, member of the PZPR Central Committee and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers;
Division General Michal Janiszewski, government minister and chief of the Office of the Council of Ministers;
Boguslaw Kolodziejczak, member of the PZPR Central Committee and director of the Chancery of the PZPR Central Committee;
Ernest Kucza, member of the PZPR Central Committee and director of the PZPR Central Committee Foreign Affairs Department;
Eugeniusz Mroz, member of the PZPR Central Committee and first secretary of the Voivodship PZPR Committee in Opole;
Jerzy Breitkopf, director of the State Council Chancellery;
Jan Majewski, deputy minister of foreign affairs;
Jozef Urbanowicz, PPR Ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary in Ulaanbaatar;

On the Mongolian side:

Demchigiyn Molomjamts, MPRP Politburo member and Central Committee secretary;
Tserendashiyn Namsray, MPRP Politburo member, Central Committee secretary and member of the Presidium of the People's Great Hural;
Choynoryn Suren, member of the MPRP Central Committee and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers;
(Lodongijn Rinczin) [spelling of name as published], member of the MPRP Central Committee, member of the Presidium of the People's Great Hural, and director of the MPRP Central Committee Foreign Affairs Department;
General Agbaanjantsangiyn Jamsranjab, member of the MPRP Central Committee and minister of public security;
Punsalmagijn Oczirbat [spelling of name as published], member of the MPRP Central Committee and chairman of the State Committee for Economic Relations Abroad;
Daramyn Jondon [spelling of name as published], member of the MPRP Central Committee and first deputy minister of foreign affairs;
Olzichutagijn Czojdzilsuren [spelling of name as published], member of the MPRP Central Committee and MPR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Poland;
Rawdangijn Bataa [spelling of name as published], candidate member of the MPRP Central Committee and adviser to the general secretary of the MPRP Central Committee.

W. Jaruzelski and J. Batmonh briefed each other about the results of the 10th PZPR Congress and the 19th MPRP Congress and about the implementation of congress resolutions concerning the further development and consolidation of socialism in their countries. Information was exchanged on the activities of the PZPR and MPRP, the domestic situations in Poland and Mongolia, and key issues pertaining to the construction of socialism in the two countries. The state of bilateral relations was judged favorably and prospects for their further development were discussed.

W. Jaruzelski and J. Batmonh noted with satisfaction that relations between the PZPR and the MPRP and between the PPR and MPR--relations that are firmly based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and international socialism--are being constantly expanded and deepened in the spirit of the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between the two countries that was signed in 1975. Both sides expressed satisfaction over the favorable implementation of the provisions of the treaty and over the decisions that were made at the highest level.

Close cooperation between the PZPR and MPRP is a decisive factor in Polish-Mongolian relations.

The two sides emphasized the role played by cooperation between trade unions and youth, women's and other organizations--cooperation that is developing rapidly--in the expansion of bilateral relations.

W. Jaruzelski and J. Batmonh stated that in recent years further progress had been made in developing economic and scientific and technological cooperation between the two states, that the Polish-Mongolian Intergovernmental Commission for Economic and Scientific and Technological Cooperation is working effectively and that the decisions that the commission has made are currently being implemented. Plans for the development of the economies of both countries have been coordinated and a long-term agreement covering the period 1986-90 has been signed along with plans and protocols on cooperation between many ministries.

The two leaders stressed the great importance of the "Long-term Program for the Development of Economic, and Scientific and Technological Cooperation Between the PPR and MPR Until the Year 2000" for the further strengthening of friendly relations and cooperation between the two states and peoples.

The two leaders came out in favor of the further, comprehensive development of Polish-Mongolian relations in all areas, in the belief that this lies in the interests of both states and constitutes an important contribution to the consolidation of unity among the countries belonging to the socialist community.

W. Jaruzelski and J. Batmonh underscored the determination of both parties and states to work consistently toward strengthening CEMA in its role as an effective mechanism for socialist economic integration. The leaders stressed that the decisions adopted at the summit level economic conference in 1984 and the comprehensive program for scientific and technological progress in CEMA member-states constitute an important basis for the expansion of the material and technological base of socialism in the two countries and for strengthening cooperation between CEMA member-states.

Poland and Mongolia attach vital significance to the development and consolidation of friendship and comprehensive cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist community states.

The two sides stressed the particular significance of the 27th CPSU Congress and documents passed in its course for the development of the theory and practice of socialism.

Poland and Mongolia will oppose with determination all moves by imperialism aiming to upset the unity and cohesion of the socialist community.

The two sides expressed grave concern over the exacerbation of tensions in the international situation. The blame for this must be borne by reactionary imperialist circles and by the United States in particular, for it has embarked on an unprecedented acceleration of the arms race, of the nuclear one above all, and has endeavored to extend the arms race to space.

The two sides consider the strengthening of international peace and security, the curbing of the arms race, and the cessation of the production of nuclear weapons and their elimination to be the most important tasks facing mankind at the present time.

Poland and Mongolia fully support the peace policy being pursued by the Soviet Union, the program for the gradual liquidation of nuclear and other weapons of mass annihilation by the year 2000, proposals to establish a general system of international security and other Soviet disarmament initiatives aimed at eliminating tensions in international relations and saving the world from a nuclear catastrophe. Both countries will work resolutely, in close cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, toward the goal of realizing these initiatives. The realization of these initiatives will permit the independent and secure development of all the countries and peoples of the world and a return to detente in international relations, and will strengthen international cooperation.

The two sides underscored the significance of the Soviet proposal to establish a world organization for the peaceful use of space and reaffirmed that they would work actively toward the realization of this proposal.

The MPR expressed full support for the idea advanced by Wojciech Jaruzelski, during the 40th session of the UN General Assembly, of commissioning a study on the consequences of the militarization of space under the auspices of the UN secretary general.

The two leaders stressed the great importance of the appeal made at the Budapest conference of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee to NATO and other European states with the aim of reducing the danger of armed confrontation and war in Europe and the world. Both states will work actively toward the realization of this and the other initiatives mentioned above.

Poland and Mongolia confirmed their determination to act for the benefit of consolidating positive trends in international policy and readiness to cooperate in this process with all states and forces coming out in favor of the consolidation of peace, disarmament and return to detente in international relations. The sides emphasized the growing role of the nonaligned movement as a significant factor in international relations and expressed approval for the results achieved during the top-level meeting of these states in Harare.

Wojciech Jaruzelski and Jambyn Batmonh stressed that unconditional observance of political and territorial realities shaped as a result of World War II and Europe's postwar development provides a basis to preserve peace in Europe. Concern has been aroused by attempts by some circles in the West to undermine the postwar territorial and political order in Europe--which is incompatible with the interests of detente, security and cooperation.

Mongolia values highly the work that Poland has undertaken with the aim of consolidating peace, effecting the resumption and enhancement of detente, and averting the danger of nuclear conflict in Europe and the world.

The two sides expressed grave concern over the persistence of sources of conflict and tension that arise as a result of imperialist interference in the internal affairs of sovereign states located on the Asian continent.

Wojciech Jaruzelski and Jambyn Batmonh reaffirmed their support for the new constructive Soviet initiatives set out in the speech made by Mikhail Gorbachev in Vladivostock.

The two sides reaffirmed that the expansion of cooperation based on principles of equality and mutual benefit between the states of Asia and the Pacific Ocean, irrespective of differences in sociopolitical systems, will be conducive to the consolidation of peace and security throughout the world.

The PPR values highly the peace-oriented foreign policy pursued by the MPR and in particular its contribution toward enhancing security in Asia.

Wojciech Jaruzelski reaffirmed Poland's support for the Mongolian proposal to establish a mechanism ruling out the use of force in relations between states of Asia and the Pacific Ocean.

The two sides supported peace initiatives of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and the People's Republic of Kampuchea, whose aim is to transfer Southeast Asia into a zone of peace, good-neighborhood and cooperation. They expressed support for the initiative put forward by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to peacefully reunite Korea, to transform the Korean peninsula into a zone of peace free of nuclear weapons. The sides approved of the efforts by the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan designed to normalize the situation around this country.

The two sides expressed support for establishing a nuclear-free zone in the southern part of the Pacific Ocean.

Poland and Mongolia welcome with satisfaction the results of the consultative meeting of representatives of parliaments of socialist Asian states in Ulaanbaatar which stressed the necessity to broaden relations of friendship and solidarity with developing states of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, including socialism-oriented states, and reaffirmed firm support for the just struggle of nations fighting against imperialist policy of aggression, or independence, social and economic progress, for the right of free and independent development, without external interference.

The sides expressed concern over the tension holding on in the Middle East as a consequence of the aggressive policy by the United States and Israel and reaffirmed their fundamental stand on the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the occupied Arab territories and the implementation of the inalienable rights of the Palestine nation to self-determination and to establishing its own state. A comprehensive solution to the Mideast problem and the restoration of peace in the region will only be possible when an international conference, held under the auspices of the United Nations, is convened with the participation of all the parties concerned, including the PLO.

The sides confirmed inalterable solidarity with the struggle of the Nicaraguan nation in defence of the achievements of the revolution and state sovereignty, for decreasing tension in this part of the world.

The sides firmly condemned aggressive moves by the racist regime in the Republic of South Africa against the independence and territorial integrity of "frontline states." They reaffirmed their full support for the national and liberation struggle of the Namibian nation led by SWAPO.

Wojciech Jaruzelski and Jambyn Batmonh noted the growth of influence and prestige of the international communist and working class movement. The struggle being waged by communist and workers' parties for peace and social progress lies in the interests of the entire world. The two sides expressed their determined resolve to continue to contribute to the strengthening of the unity and cohesion of communist and workers parties on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles and to contribute to the expansion of cooperation between communists and other progressive and democratic forces engaged in the struggle to avert the threat of war.

The two sides unanimously stated that the visit of friendship paid by the PPR party-state delegation to Mongolia opens a new stage in the development of bilateral relations and will contribute to the further strengthening of Polish-Mongolian friendship and cooperation for the good of both peoples and the entire socialist community.

During the visit paid by the PPR party-state delegation W. Jaruzelski and J. Batmonh signed a "Long-term Program for the Development of Economic and Scientific and Technological Cooperation Between the PPR and the MPR Until the Year 2000."

The first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the PPR State Council W. Jaruzelski extended an invitation to J. Batmonh, general secretary of the MPRP Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the MPR People's Great Hural to pay a visit of friendship to Poland. The invitation was received with gratitude.

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POLITICS

POLAND

GDR DEFENSE MINISTER'S SPEECH IN SILESIA

AU180920 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 11 Sep 86 p 2

["Excerpt" from speech by Army General Heinz Kessler, GDR minister of national defense, at the garrison club of the Silesian Military District on 10 September]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Minister!

Dear Polish comrades-in-arms!

Dear comrades and friends!

I would like to thank you personally, and on behalf of other members of the GDR military delegation, for the friendly reception accorded us by the men of the Polish Armed Forces and to express our respect for the masterly display of skill and combat readiness staged by your subunits and military collectives.

We have the honor and pleasure of conveying to you, our Polish comrades-in-arms, cordial greetings and good wishes from Comrade Erich Honecker, the general secretary of the SED Central Committee and the chairman of the GDR State Council.

We have also been authorized to convey fraternal greetings to you from the troops of the GDR National People's Army, who, arm in arm with the soldiers of the Polish People's Republic, are preserving peace for our nations.

The working people and soldiers of the GDR wish the citizens and soldiers of the Polish People's Republic further successes in the socialist development of the Polish People's Republic; in raising the material and cultural living standards of working people; in expanding international cooperation; and in preserving peace--as set out in the resolutions adopted by the 10th PZPR Congress in the summer of this year.

We know that cooperation between socialist states in the political, economic, and scientific and technological spheres, along with military cooperation within the Warsaw Pact framework, are an important guarantee that every

nation will attain the goals that it has set itself and that our nations will protect the world from the nightmare of war.

Speaking at the 10th PZPR Congress, the first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski, judged friendship and indissoluble alliance with the Soviet Union and "cornerstone" of Polish foreign policy, and he spoke out firmly in favor of further strengthening the socialist community and increasing its unity and cohesion in all spheres of activity.

"The responsibility for the fate of socialism and a peaceful future for the world borne by our parties and states makes it necessary for us to make the best possible use of the achievements and experience that we have at our disposal," said Wojciech Jaruzelski, speaking from the rostrum of the congress.

The position of the PZPR is the same as that of the SED. This is also true of us, the soldiers of the armed forces and armies of the Warsaw Pact.

The experience that we exchange; the consultations that we hold on the subject of mastering contemporary military thought; the stepping up of political and military training; the results of scientific work and military practice that we share with each other; and the personal contacts and friendships that we establish and renew all contribute to increasing the cohesiveness and efficiency of our joint military efforts.

This is of particular importance at the present time, as NATO is holding its largest military exercises for some years. Almost every day we hear about alerts and military exercises being held by NATO forces in close proximity to our borders. We also hear of premeditated slanderous charges and political attacks directed at the GDR and the PPR.

Revisionist compatriot associations in West Germany incite opposition to the outcome of World War II and the socialist achievements of the GDR, the CSSR, and People's Poland.

Our response to these aggressive intentions is the clear and unambiguous policy of peace being pursued by the socialist community. Our working people and soldiers desire peace above all. Peace is an essential condition if our nations are to continue their great work and our children are to have a bright future ahead of them.

This is why the peace and detente-oriented proposals put forward by the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact states, in particular the proposals set out in the Budapest declaration and Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev's recent announcements concerning extensions to the Soviet moratorium on the testing of nuclear weapons, command the universal support of the soldiers of socialism.

Our military efforts serve to promote this policy of detente and the strengthening of peace. The troops of the National People's Army, and I can assure you of this dear Polish comrades, are aware of their

particular, internationalist responsibility on the front line of our defense coalition, face to face with the soldiers of NATO. That is why we are doing all that we can to increase the military skills and combat readiness of all our units and tactical cells and to intensify comradeship-in-arms and cooperation with the armies of the Soviet Union, the CSSR, and People's Poland. That we are doing this is attested to by the contacts of many years standing between our "Karol Swierczynski" regiment of the National People's Army and the Polish "German Fighters Against Fascism" regiment. Further proof of efforts in this area are the cordial meetings that take place each year during exercises for the armies and staff headquarters of the Joint Armed Forces and their individual units.

And today's visit, dear Polish comrades, shows how much importance we attach to strengthening the bonds of friendship that links our armies.

We are developing friendship and cooperation between the Polish and the GDR peoples in the spirit of the internationalism of the Polish and German workers' movements and their outstanding representatives, people such as Rosa Luxemburg and Julian Maarchewski. People who epitomize the struggle waged by Polish and German working people against imperialism and militarism, and today GDR army units and military schools bear their names.

It is widely known that the creators of the workers' class world view, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, had great respect for the Polish nation and its struggle against foreign domination and feudal reaction. It is also known that leaders of the German and international workers movement of 1848 considered the creation of a democratic Poland, a viable Polish state whose borders and outlets to the sea would be ratified by the Polish and German peoples, as "the first necessary condition for the creation of a democratic Germany."

This was realized 36 years ago with the conclusion of the historic Treaty of Zgorzelec on the Oder-Nysa border of peace between the GDR and the PPR. On its western border, democratic and socialist Poland now has a democratic and socialist neighbour with whom it is at peace.

Dear Polish comrades!

On behalf of the soldiers of the National People's Army, I wish to assure you that we will continue to make our contribution to the steadfast defense of the western borders of the socialist community--at any time of the day, and at any time of the year, we will defy all nature of overt or covert attacks!

Long live German-Polish friendship and comradeship-in-arms!

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POLITICS

POLAND

WEST'S WAR OF INFORMATION, TV SATELLITES

Information War Seen as 'Mighty Weapon'

AU171630 Warsaw KULTURA in Polish No 36, 3 Sep 86 pp 3, 15

[Article by Leslaw Wojtasik: "Information War"--first installment]

[Excerpts] Information and propaganda based on it have now become a mighty weapon with the help of which it is possible to accomplish extensive political tasks. As a tool of ideological struggle, propaganda began to play a special role in this century for several crucial reasons, the main reason being the world's ideological division.

The West's concept of the information war is based not only on the fact that the technical potential of disseminating information has increased, but also on the fact that an armed conflict is now very risky for the aggressor in view of the present state of the military potential, especially the nuclear potential: A nuclear war may end in a worldwide catastrophe.

The West's typical scenario for the information war can look like this: Disinformation activities, the aim of which is to create crisis phenomena, begin the information war. Such activities can be carried out on many levels at the same time, which makes it easier to achieve the desired effects. However, disinformation is most often carried out in three basic areas:

--Ideological disinformation, which involves attempts to propagate various ideological and sociopolitical concepts that are antisocialist in nature.

--Economic disinformation, which is based in credit policy, on sales of obsolete licenses, on investment policy aimed at creating a given country's dependence on raw materials and services, and on grants of loans to promote the development of some sectors of the economy in such a way as to disorganize the economy as a whole.

--Sociological propaganda, which uses very attractive forms of communications such as feature movies and which is aimed at the masses. Such propaganda seeks to glorify the bourgeois system with the help of the movies that demonstrate the Western style of life.

Disinformation activities are the longest phase of every campaign in the war of information and may last several years. If they produce the desired effects (which do not have to materialize) in the country at which such a war is directed, crisis phenomena and, consequently, various social tensions follow.

This is the second phase of the information war campaign and its aim is to strengthen social tensions triggered by the growing socioeconomic crisis. During this phase preference is given to activities along three lines:

--Preventing any reforms that could curb or eliminate crisis phenomena. This is done primarily by skillfully using economic information and by manipulating the established economic ties.

--Stimulating the emergence of various antisocialist organizations that symbolize the "wrath of the masses." Such organizations are expected to act as branches of the Western centers of ideological subversion and to implement information war tasks on their behalf. That is why they should be equipped above all with the necessary instruction and propaganda resources and their activities should seek to establish a "shadow cabinet" capable of governing in the initial period after the victory of counter-revolution.

--Constantly "getting people riled up" by spreading tendentious information and various rumors and exaggerating the scope and nature of crisis phenomena.

A frequent distinctive feature of the second phase of the information war is its dramatic course under conditions of escalating events. The main objective of this phase is to achieve a partial immobilization of the legal government and to force upon it a compromise with oppositional elements. This juncture constitutes the starting point for the third phase, which involves confrontation with the legal government.

This phase takes place in a situation when ideological subversion centers have already established their beachheads and have recruited the domestic mercenaries in the country that is the target of the attack. What the Western coordinators have to do is to provide funds and the necessary information and resources to wage the propaganda war, while renegades, recruited mostly from antisocialist individuals, are for the most part responsible for carrying out actual subservice activities. One task of this bloodless phase of confrontation is to manipulate the excited masses so that the legal government is forced to grant various concessions aimed at the ultimate demise of the socialist system.

The final phase of the information war campaign is a bloody showdown with the legal government and with the social groups supporting it. In a word, a civil war in a country harassed by the crisis and affected by the artificial radicalization of some segments of the people who are divided as a result of manipulative propaganda activities. Even if such a war does not end in an overthrow of the socialist system, the Western experts

think this war would negatively affect the socialist community and provide excellent propaganda materials for the Western centers of ideological subversion.

A similar scenario was consistently being put into action in Poland, and there is no doubt that precisely Poland has become the testing ground of the information war. Although the Western experts in ideological subversion have always regarded Poland as a "weak link" in the socialist community, preparations for the information were not specifically directed at Poland. They were rather universal in nature, because at the beginning of the 70's no one knew which socialist country would become a testing ground for the information war.

In line with the Western specialists' concept of the beginning of the 70's, radio was to play the main role in the information war because of the great potential of radio reception. For example, some 95 percent of Polish families own efficient radio receivers.

Next week I will write about new information technologies.

New Technologies

AU191419 Warsaw KULTURA in Polish 10 Sep 86 pp 3, 15

[Article by Leslaw Wojtasik: "Information War--New Technologies"--second and final installment]

[Excerpts] Subversive radio programs have not produced the hoped for results, despite all improvements and intensification. On the contrary, people began to grow slowly accustomed to them and their effectiveness continues to decrease as is particularly attested to by the consistently decreasing number of listeners.

In view of this the Western subversive centers had to find better and more sophisticated technological means of influencing socialist countries and decided to employ in particular such perfect and mass-produced devices as video equipment, microcomputers, and satellite television.

The political opponents in Poland and the Western subversive centers take the view that, in particular, video equipment techniques should help to promote the "independent" education of Polish society on a larger scale.

Since attempts to organize illegal manufactures of video cassettes in Poland have failed, such manufactures have been established in the West to produce cassettes to be smuggled into Poland. A special activity in the production of video cassettes is being shown by the Paris VIDEOKONTAKT, a branch of the monthly KONTAKT, which is Brussels Solidarity's press organ. VIDEOKONTAKT produced for the antisocialist organizations in Poland the "Calendar of War," a movie which tendentiously presents the most important events in Poland after 13 December 1981.

Increasing numbers of signals indicate that the Western centers of ideological subversion intend to open soon a new front of the information war against the socialist countries--the already operating system of direct satellite television.

The so-called commission for "public diplomacy" drew attention to this issue in its report sent to the White House and U.S. Congress last April. The report stressed the need to promote television propaganda vis-a-vis the socialist countries with the help of satellites controlled by the USIA, whose director Charles Wick announced recently that this television system will make it possible "to establish direct communications with the peoples of other countries over the heads of their governments." Secretary of State George Schultz made a similar announcement in March 1985. Speaking at the Washington Academy of Sciences, he said that satellite television should be exploited in order "to destabilize the domestic situation in the socialist countries" if not in order to promote obvious counterrevolutionary aims.

At the moment intensive preparations are continuing to create a system of telecommunication satellites for direct reception throughout the world. These efforts are being made by the United States, Great Britain, France, the FRG, Italy, and the Scandinavian countries. Efforts to promote satellite television go hand in hand with attempts to work out concepts of subversive influence directed at the peoples in the socialist countries in order to reduce them to stagnancy, regression, and self-destruction.

Since the investments connected with the construction of this system of television communication have swallowed large amounts of private capital, it can be assumed that it will be possible in the immediate future to operate subversive television programs on the principles similar to those on which Radio Free Europe operates. This has been made possible by the MAC (Multiplex Analogy Components) system of signal emission, which was devised in the West not long ago and which is still being improved. This system makes possible a simultaneous reception of television programs on several phonic canals of the PAL and SECAM television sets, of which SECAM is generally used in the socialist countries.

It is a fact that in our country it is possible to receive with the help of special and not too complicated aerial installations 20 Western television programs relayed via four satellites placed in stationary orbit. The Eutelsat telecommunication satellite makes possible the reception of 10 television programs beamed by the United States, the FRG, Great Britain, Belgium, Netherlands, Italy, Switzerland, and Austria. The Eutelsat-2 satellite makes possible the reception of Swedish and Norwegian television programs and two Eurovision programs. The Intelsat V F-11 telecommunication satellite relays three British television programs and one U.S. television program beamed round the clock. The Intelsat V F-4 satellite beams three FRG television programs, including two regional ones.

The reception quality of the aforementioned programs in Poland shows differences and depends mainly on the strength of the individual satellites, most of which beam images that are technologically on the level of those beamed by our own television stations.

The FRG and France intend to place in the near future stationary television satellites that will ensure a high quality of the reception of their programs all over Poland. In addition, a number of European countries (Luxembourg, Sweden, and Austria plan to place in 1987-1988 their own satellites in stationary orbit to beam direct programs to the territory of Poland and other countries.

Our ideological adversary hopes that the development of satellite television will help to intensify the spread of video cassettes. He takes the view that satellite television will make it possible to organize in Poland points that would record Western programs on video cassettes, which would then be copied.

Our ideological adversary thinks that information represents a weapon with which it is possible to achieve singlehanded results. This weapon is an alternative to other actions, including military actions, which may harm the aggressor. That is why this kind of information is a "safe" means of combat. Our adversary has regrouped his forces and resources, has improved his action methods, and is to attack with greater force. That is why understanding the mechanisms of information war is of crucial importance in practice.

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POLITICS

POLAND

SOVIET PRESS CANDOR IN WAKE OF 27TH CONGRESS FEATURED

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 19-22 Jul 86 p 3

[Article by: Marek Trzebiatowski "The Choice Belongs to Us"]

[Text] Trouble began for Stanislaw Zacharow, a docent at Moscow Polytech's department of radio and television technology, when he made an unusual discovery. While scanning technical literature he read that he was the author of a scientific work of which he had never even heard. To make things worse its content was related to an altogether different work of his own authorship. In all he could have accepted this as a fact of life, closed his eyes and taken it as another step forward in the march of science. This fiction was necessary to the directors of his parent department to "show" the level of activity and a large number of published scientific articles by members of their department. He concluded that this was unworthy of a scientist and party member. He voiced his objections during a party meeting.

Two years passed. For his lack of solidarity with the collective, and disturbing the peace necessary for good work Zacharow received a severe party reprimand. There also was a motion to strip him of his docent's position. His associates also suspected psychiatric problems since no normal person would cause commotion for this reason. The worried scientist turned for help to the editors of PRAVDA, who not only presented the entire matter in its columns, but also drew some detailed conclusions.

The leading Soviet daily was severely critical of the party leadership at the school and of the Regional Party Committee which had openly ignored party statutes and the principles of social coexistence. "For this there must now be a severe accounting," wrote Aleksiej Szinkin, a PRAVDA journalist, who used no uncertain terms. "If we truly wish to change something according to the resolutions of the 27th Congress of the KPZR [Communist Party of the Soviet Union] then we cannot be indifferent in our professional and social work to any examples of slowing in the tempo of socio-economic development in our nation."

The matter of docent Zacharow is not an event only in Soviet reality but also a theme in press publications. Also well known to Polish readers is the story of some journalistic material "removed" from the pages of the regional

news in Stogo-Krasiensk by the Regional Party Committee. The article described a seminar organized for trade and service workers. Regional party leaders were influenced by the self-satisfied directorate of the trade units that organized the showy seminar which had no link to daily reality. They did not take into account that this matter would interest PRAVDA. Both articles, the real critical one and the generalized substitute appeared in the columns of the central party daily with appropriate commentary.

This then is the tone of expression significant in the Soviet press after the 27th Congress of the KPZR. Uncompromising presentation of the shortages in many areas of life, a fight with bad management, the lack of responsibility in persons filling the management positions, the elimination of shortcomings in management, a care for the observance of moral and ethical standards are only a few of the constant subjects of articles appearing in party or union publications.

"The choice belongs to us," states Professor Akat Bielych, the chief of the Scientific Communism Department at the University of Leningrad. It is not coincidental that the socio-economic speedup, one of the main propositions of the 27th Congress, concerns itself mainly with social matters, things that directly relate to the society. Investment in people is most appropriate and effective. It means that in reaching for a high level of economic development one must simultaneously solve social problems. This must be accompanied by a high awareness among the workers in the collectives that are daily actualizing the resolutions of the Congress. The party program places great importance on collective management, individual responsibility for politico-economic decisions undertaken, as well as for changes in the economic system of the workplace. Many are switching to the concept of the self financed enterprise, and there are frequent reorganizations which tend to combine many units of the same branch. The present division of competence, as for example in the wood working industry, had led to excessive bureaucracy and an unjustified growth in administration.

In many speeches and commentaries by economists much was said about the necessity for tighter links and proper understanding of the function of party and economic organs. It is apparent that while the party cadres for years were being supplied from among the best economists this has led to a weakening in the economic sector. Now this disproportion is being systematically eliminated, and even the national councils are being strengthened. Commissions for dealing with problems are being organized in these bodies, while greater possibilities for control have been given to the field presidiums. Much is said and done in practice on the matter of limiting bureaucracy, this is mainly to limit the large number of official papers which are not only innu-dating institutions but private citizens as well. According to statistical figures their number is counted as at least several billion annually.

This is not easy, it is similar to changing people's outlook. The old habits and traditions linger, these are often comfortable and difficult to eradicate. This is why so much is said about the transformation of awareness,

about new life and work styles. "The concept that the choice belongs to ourselves," states Docent Walery Rumin from the department of Scientific Communism at the University of Leningrad, "is correct, but it does not give form to the problems which we must solve. We cannot permit ourselves not to complete tasks which await us before the end of the 20th century. This will require the already mentioned changes in people's thought, as well as the reduction in the number of investments. The time has come to end practices similar to the ones that are connected to the story of building a fish canning plant on the far eastern end of the USSR. The location was deemed beneficial because of the close proximity to the fish supply. After 12 years when the factory started production it became apparent that the Japanese have fished out the waters. Then raw material had to be shipped to the factory over great distances. Do we need more arguments to convince us about the need to change our methods of management, that is to seek a more rational policy of investment?" asks docent Rumin rhetorically.

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POLITICS

POLAND

MILITARY DAILY NOTES FRASYNIUK, BUJAK STATEMENTS

LD171529 Warsaw PAP in English 1310 GMT 17 Sep 86

[Text] Warsaw, 17 Sep--"The decision of the Polish Government to release all those arrested for offences against the state has become sensational news, leading international news columns in the Western press," Jan Lew wrote today in a commentary published by the ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI daily.

"Western journalists, accredited to Poland, immediately got to those freed to find out what they themselves thought about the whole surprise. Then, they released statements obtained from the freed, giving them their own verbal presentations," the daily said.

"Zbigniew Bujak as seen by the BCC radio was slightly different from that of the French radio RFI, and still different from that described by the ASSOCIATED PRESS AGENCY," it went on. "The same refers to Mr Frasyuniuk who seems to have undergone transformations, depending on the reporting journalist. Finally, one does not know well enough what those two most frequently and most extensively quoted people actually did say," it said.

"If one takes for granted what has been quoted as said by these two Polish citizens so far, it will turn out that they accept their release without enthusiasm, which does not augur well," the paper wrote.

"The proper thing to do, not to mention the moral aspect, would be to welcome this fact of goodwill with at least one good word. The more so when one has the breach of the law on one's conscience," ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI went on.

"This word was not quoted by Western agencies, instead they circulated unrefined insinuations addressed by the two Polish citizens to the Polish Government which were seasoned with promises of further illegal and anti-social activities. It seems more than doubtful that giving an insult to somebody in return for his favour is the best way of conduct, in policy, too," the paper said.

"After this sensational news reported by agencies one cannot help an impression that Mr Bujak and Mr Frasyuniuk, or perhaps somebody else, might have been familiar with the thought of a return to the former activity which gave them fairly good, if not rich, living standards thanks to kind donations," ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI wrote.

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POLITICS

POLAND

GLOWCZYK ADDRESSES MILITARY REPORT-BACK CONFERENCE

AU241617 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 22 Sep 86 pp 1, 2

[Speech by PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee Secretary Jan Glowczyk at the 20 September report-back and election conference of the Pomeranian Military District in Bydgoszcz]

[Text] When we seek ways today of creating a climate that encourages the implementation of the 10th congress resolution, we should refer to the broader experience of the nation, including the history of the Polish Armed Forces. This should serve as a warning against the kind of action that has ended in failure in the past, and should at the same time bring to mind the kind of action that has been effective though impossible to mechanically repeat under today's conditions. Referring to the past 40 years, it would also serve as a rejoinder against the view of the adversary whereby everything that we did in the past is bad. Referring back to past experience is aimed at consolidating patriotism and arousing a feeling of pride and national honor.

We must animate on a broader scale the process of rewarding distinguished persons and make this process accessible to the mass media. The point is wide publicity for people who are particularly energetic, enterprising, and steadfast in reaching their goal. But this applies not only to those who have already distinguished themselves in their function or post. It also applies to people in uniform. We believe that the mass media geared mainly toward the "civilian" consumer show too little of officers and soldiers. And yet in the Army there are many figures who could serve as a model of conduct for young people in particular. In the military press we find biographies of distinguished commanders, organizers, rationalizers, and inventors, people enjoying deserved recognition within their milieu. It is necessary to present more information like this in the press.

Just as on every front, so on the propaganda front we are not alone. There is also the adversary. There was a period in 1980, and even more so in 1981, when he was strong, so strong that there was a real danger of counterrevolution. In the face of such a danger, final measures were taken. The Army proved to be an incontestable rearguard of socialism, fully capable of defending it. Despite the drastic measures of martial law which, though aimed at the adversary, had to involve everyone, the

People's Polish Army not only retained its high prestige within society, but also strengthened it.

Sometimes there are attempts to explain this in a simplified manner. It is said that Poles love uniforms by tradition. This is only partly true. It is not an army in general that the Poles esteem, but that Army and its cadres that stems from the workers and peasants class, which together with the Soviet Army brought the nation freedom, and which today is performing not only its basic defense functions, but is also energetically participating in the country's cultural, economic, and political life. The source of the Army's authority is also the constant process of educating young Poles that is continuing within its ranks. Shortcomings in the upbringing given by families and schools are put right in the Army, and even supplemented. The Army teaches successive generations of conscripts respect for the fatherland and socialist state, patriotism and internationalism, and also the ability to organize and act in an organized manner. This is an essential factor in young people's education. Its significance is not diminishing in the face of the progress of socialist democracy. On the contrary, democracy is impossible without social discipline.

Lenin said that only the kind of revolution that is capable of defending itself has any value. We have defended our revolution. Today our task is to build a stronger economy and proceed from extensive to intensive development--in a word, to firmly implement the 10th congress resolution. I am convinced that your military district party organization will implement it as firmly as it has done so far.

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CSO: 2600/49

POLITICS

POLAND

MIODOWICZ SPEAKS TO WFTU CONGRESS IN BERLIN

LD181057 Warsaw PAP in English 0643 GMT 18 Sep 86

[Text] Berlin, 17 Sep--On the second day of the 11th World Trade Union Congress in Berlin today, the floor was taken by Alfred Miodowicz, chairman of the National Alliance of Trade Unions (OPZZ), heading the Polish delegation to the congress.

While recalling that after an interval the revived Polish trade union movement has been readmitted to the World Federation of Trade Unions, OPZZ chairman stressed: We want to make an active and constructive contribution to joint actions aimed at defending the rights and threatened interests of working people, states, and nations, at defending world peace and supporting the idea of universal disarmament. We condemn actions of the forces of imperialism, militarism, reaction, neocolonialism, fascism, racism and revenge. Polish labour movement firmly supports peace initiatives of the Soviet Union, as well as all peace and disarmament initiatives regardless of where they come from.

Miodowicz suggested that--in cooperation with the International Labour Office (ILO)--a joint trade union commission for workers be created, comprising representatives of the WFTU, International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), World Confederation of Labour and European Confederation of Trade Unions. The commission might contribute to an exchange of information, and constant dialogue on such issues as counteracting growing unemployment in the conditions of scientific-technological revolution, social impact of armaments and disarmament, counteracting ecological threats, health protection and protection of work conditions, exchange of views on subjects included in the agenda of the ILO sessions.

We are sorry that a situation in the International Labour Organization compelled Poland to suspend its membership in this organization, of which it was a co-founder, Miodowicz continued.

The OPZZ Council called on the Polish authorities to reconsider the problem of Poland's ILO membership. We are convinced that this organization can and should be the forum of cooperation not only of governments but also trade union organizations in matters vital for the working people. It cannot be, however, the forum striving to model the character and type

of trade union movement in individual member-countries. The model of trade unions is and must remain a sovereign issue of trade unionists in every country.

Polish trade unions are at one with all those fighting against oppression, exploitation, starvation, poverty, and unemployment, with those who fight for the right to live, to live in peace. Miodowicz recalled on this occasion a number of Polish peace initiatives, among them, the proposal submitted by Wojciech Jaruzelski at last year's UN session.

The OPZZ chairman characterized the Polish trade union movement, which had revived in a sharp political-ideological struggle. We stand on the ground of the implementation of the well known August 1980 accords signed in Gdansk, Gdynia, Szczecin, and Jastrzebie, he stressed. They emerged from the justified protest of the working class. Hence, nobody should question our credibility, the fact that we constitute an authentic representative body of working people in our country.

Polish trade unions have invited foreign delegations of trade union organizations of many countries, from all continents, to take part in their November congress. Our movement is open to international contacts, Miodowicz stated.

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POLITICS

POLAND

CORRESPONDENT VIEWS BEGINNING OF PRC VISIT

AU031418 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 29 Sep 86 p 7

[Report by Zygmunt Slomowski, "Our Own Correspondent in Beijing": "The First Hours in Beijing"]

[Text] The talks that have opened in Beijing mark the resumption of Polish-Chinese dialog at the highest level and have naturally aroused much interest abroad. Indirect evidence of this is that correspondents representing the largest press agencies in the world, including those of the United States, Great Britain and Japan, have been accredited for the visit.

The dialogue has commenced at a time when economic, scientific, cultural and sports cooperation between Poland and China has acquired a new impetus. As Comrade Jaruzelski said on Sunday, both sides wish to expand cooperation and the current talks are of great importance for the expansion of cooperation in all areas. Existing foundations can be built on and this will profit both countries, peace, and social progress. The manner in which the position of China converges on most fundamental issues with the peace initiatives launched by the community of socialist states creates favorable conditions for this to happen.

The Polish-Chinese talks are taking place at a time when the most populous state in the world is undergoing a period of rapid development. The capital city itself provides ample evidence of this. New districts with modern, high-rise housing have appeared, changing the city's skyline completely. New highways and two-level intersections have appeared. Old streets and houses have been imbued with new life by the appearance of new shops. These are first impressions but they provide visual confirmation or serve to illustrate the words of the head of the Chinese Government, who, at the meeting with W. Jaruzelski, stressed that the new period in the dynamic development of socialist construction had begun in 1978 and that the policy for invigorating the economy that had been adopted then along with the opening up to the outside world had provided the economy with new life.

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POLITICS

POLAND

MEDICAL STUDENTS EARN POINTS FOR WORK, SOCIAL SERVICE

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 19 Aug 86 p 2

[Article by: PAP "Additional Points for Work To Those Going to Study Medicine"]

[Text] The Ministry of Health and Social Welfare has informed us that candidates seeking acceptance for the first year of medical studies at the medical academies in the year 1987/88 may receive additional points for work if they can present documentation (work certificate) which shows continuous employment based on an agreement for full time employment in units of the public health service as lower echelon members of the service staff.

This is as follows:

1. ward attendant, orderly, stretcher bearer--for candidates in the field of medicine or medical-hygiene
2. ward attendant, orderly, stretcher bearer, dentist's assistant--for candidates in the dental field
3. ward attendant, orderly, stretcher bearer, dispensary assistant, pharmacy or laboratory assistant--for candidates in the field of pharmacology
4. ward attendant, orderly, stretcher bearer, laboratory assistant--for candidates in the field of forensic medicine

The points under discussion are added to the results of the entrance examination for candidates who previously had not been students in a medical academy and who had worked for a minimum of 7 months.

Points for work may be received according to the following formula;

--7 points for 7 months, or 8 points for 8 months of continuous work in the time between recruitment, that is August 1986 to June 1987

--4 points for at least 7 months of continuous work in previous years.
Altogether one can receive a maximum of 12 points for work.

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POLITICS

POLAND

PUBLIC OPINION SURVEYS ROLE CONSIDERED

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 19 Aug 86 p 2

[Article: "The Role of Public Opinion"]

[Text] In KULTURA there is an interview of Professor Jerzy J. Wiatr by Alicja Kos. This is what the professor had to say:

"The core of discussion over the role of public opinion should not concern itself with the question of whether there exist boundaries in the forming and expression of public opinion, but rather whether there exist possibilities for differentiation so that public opinion would not be a fiction but a true forum where various political positions can contend. I am convinced that each unbiased look at our reality supplies much evidence to prove that in Polish public life there is much discussion, contention of views--that this is indeed public opinion....

"Of course research, the testing of opinion, in a sense contributes in some way to its formation and structure. At the same time, in my view, that is not at all a negative phenomenon. Rather the reverse, I believe that this is a virtue of such research.... As a result of opinion testing we can conclude that our society favors a specific view on a given issue and that this view is differentiated in a specific way. Such research fulfills this function under the condition that the results are publicly announced....

"If, however, the state of individual opinions is noted, but the result of this research is not publicly revealed outside, let us say, a narrow circle of interested parties, then there is no shaping of the scattered opinions into public opinion. An understandable postulate shared by me, the scientific community, and opinion making groups is that the awareness of public opinion be as great as possible."

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POLITICS

POLAND

SLOGANS, WORK HABITS COLLIDE

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 16-17 Aug 86 p 8

[Article: "Not Works, But Deeds"]

[Text] In the No 8 issue of the weekly RADA NARODOWA appears the following interview with Kazimierz Barcikowski, a member of the Political Bureau of the PZPR Central Committee and deputy chief of the National Council, conducted by Tadeusz Kolodziejczyk and Lech Winiarski. A fragment is cited.

"There exists the known danger of verbal acceptance of new slogans and concepts while at the same time maintaining the same old work style.

"I am fully aware of this. Already I am hearing about how some persons are 'threshing' the words 'effectiveness' and 'efficiency' in speeches, publications, assessments and so forth, without any effort to move economic and social matters to the forefront. We cannot tolerate such a stance. Our governmental machine must operate properly. It cannot turn in idle gear....

"Society must see that the national councils will not tolerate bad management, bureaucracy, nepotism, abuse of position; that discovered evils are fought with full consequence, and their perpetrators are exemplarily punished. No one can take our place in administering such controls; one cannot expect that someone can take our place in this undertaking....

"We cannot just work more widely, we must also wisely shape our expectations. I think that with a more realistic approach, it will be easier to achieve satisfaction for society."

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POLITICS

POLAND

WEEKLY ON CONFLICTING VIEWS UNDER SOCIALISM

AU261244 Warsaw RZECZYWISTOSC in Polish No 37, 14 Sep 86 p 2

[Editorial commentary by Jerzy Pardus, chief editor of RZECZYWISTOSC:
"To Catch Up With or To Tread Our Own Road?"]

[Text] It has been my true pleasure for the past few years to read the monthly POSZUKIWANIA [SEARCHES], which was previously called WEKTORY and which is designed for the student aktivs of the Polish University Student Association. What interests me now in this monthly is the publication of excerpts from Mariusz Gulczynski's new book entitled "What Next?" The excerpt published in No 1 of the monthly this year was entitled "The Need for New Strategy" and in No 2 "How To Leave the Vicious Circle?" M. Gulczynski says that "the conflict between requirements of increased productivity and requirements of maintaining and boosting socialist values is the most difficult problem of our programs and practice." Depending on one's attitude toward this conflict, the author distinguishes five orientations within our society.

The first orientation takes the view that the conflict between requirements of increased productivity and those of maintaining and boosting socialist values is absolutely nonexistent and should not be looked for and taken into consideration. According to M. Gulczynski, the advocates of this orientation regard socialism only as perfection and capitalism as the embodiment of evil and wrongdoing. Gulczynski thinks that ideological bureaucracy is the chief champion of this orientation, and that although the people representing this bureaucracy are not strong in number, they have enough influence to block and overcome in open discussions the internal contradictions of socialism.

The advocates of curbing socialist values in order to increase productivity constitute the second orientation. The author writes: "The familiar expression of this orientation is the postulate that 'one should learn even from the Devil himself' in order to achieve the productivity and innovating ability that exist under capitalism. In practice this postulate boils down to the most extensive taking over of the aims, rules, and methods of the capitalist economy and to openly jumping on the wagon of the world economy." The advocates of this orientation include both opponents and champions of socialism--those who regard socialism as a "divine scourge" and those who believe in socialism, but are able to

sidestep socialist ideology to a sufficient extent not to see socialism as an obstacle to promoting the market rules of the economy. This orientation, Gulczynski insists, has good propaganda makers and many kibitzers, but few volunteers to realize its slogans (most of our managers tread carefully in order to survive).

The third orientation goes for defense of socialist achievements--capital goods owned by the state and cooperatives, the centralized system of planning, egalitarianism, social benefits, the party's leading and guiding role, and so on. The most it demands is to eliminate private and individual enterprise because it subjects economic life to anarchy and undermines the principles of socialist justice. The source of this orientation are the generations of the ZWM [the Union of Young Fighters] and of the ZMP [the Polish Youth Union], the economic administration, and all those who profit by socialist achievements. This orientation is internally differentiated and antagonized.

The fourth orientation, which is eclectic in nature, is professed by the advocates of a compromise among all the previous orientations. These advocates represent interest groups which are backing whatever is more beneficial for them in the opposing systems and which want to "get on terms with socialism with greater or lesser ease, but in a safe way and without excessive risk and effort." These groups include representatives of the private and socialized sectors. Their common quality is the desire to get rich quickly and to consume or hoard their gains.

The last orientation is represented by those who seek another tightening of the aims and methods of socialist transformations.

His writing shows that M. Gulczynski represents this orientation, the advocates of which say that simple efforts to catch up with capitalism by imitating its methods and, primarily, its manner of consumption, is unrealistic and useless because we will always be the second team. These advocates believe that it is necessary to follow our own road to development involving the social adaptation of nature to the needs of all nations and not the ever increasing processing of nature into goods. They are against the predatory economy of natural resources, which should be used rationally. They are for a domestic NEP and for efforts to eventually overcome the crisis of civilization instead of adapting oneself to it.

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CSO: 2600/49

POLITICS

POLAND

CHANGES IN ROAD NUMBERING UNDERWAY

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 18 Aug 86 p 2

[Text] Road workers are finishing preparations for a great undertaking which will include the major auto routes. During the last 3 months of this year, beginning on 1 September, on about 11,000 kilometers of main road changed route numbers will appear. There also will be a new way of measuring distances between localities.

As of 1 October last year, when a new regulation concerning public roadways came into being, there is a different method of assigning roads. In official documents terms such as regional and local roads are no longer being used. Automotive routes are now classed as national (total of about 42,000 kilometers), provincial (about 140,000 kilometers), community, institutional, and settlement.

Each of these names indicates the caretaker of the road. Then the national roads are administered by the General Directorate of Public Roads, the provincial roads are under the provincial administration, community roads fall under the authority of the community leadership. The following order is assigned to city streets; through routes are given national status, the more important streets are considered provincial while the side streets are district administered (analogous to community) or belong to a housing settlement. Because we must accommodate ourselves to the requirements of the European Agreement "On the Main Directives for International Traffic" which was ratified last year, only a part of the national roadways will retain their international status.

In connection with regulatory changes, the new law and the international agreement, there arose the need to introduce a new numbering system for the national and provincial roads, and simultaneously add separate numbers for the international routes which are altogether different from those to which we have been accustomed.

In the autumn of the current year, in the first phase of the conversion, on roads with international importance there will appear signs with two numbers. White numbers on a red background will indicate the number of the national route, while white numbers on a green background, preceded by the letter "E", will indicate the international route. It has been decided that roads running west to east will have an even number, while those running north to south will have an odd number.

For example; the route from Warsaw to Wroclaw through Piotrkow Trybunalski and Wielun will be marked with the following numbers: national 8, and international E-67. Up to now drivers using this particular route first entered E-16, then used three different national roads, and finally E-12. The route from Warsaw to Poznan and on to the GDR border (now E-8) will be marked with the numbers: national 2, international E-30. The numbers on the Katowice route will not be consistent all the way. From Warsaw to Piotrkow it will be national 8, international E-67. From Piotrkow to Cieszyn it will be national 1, international E-75.

Numbering of the route from Gdansk, through Warsaw, Kielce, and Krakow as far as Chyzne will be standardized. Up to now there were three different numbers for various portions of the route; E-81, E-7, and T-7. Now this route will be marked with national 7, international E-77.

Distances in kilometers will now be given differently, that is from west to east (from the border), and from north to south. This will require the placing of new signs showing distances. Up to now distances were reckoned from one provincial city to another.

Next year national roads of lesser significance, marked with three digits, will have their numbers changed. This activity is to be completed in 1988. The numbers of provincial roads will remain in the road record, but will not be posted in the field, since the costs of this undertaking are prohibitive.

The General Directorate of Public Roads has informed us that as part of these activities many road signs will be renewed. All letters and numbers on these signs will be made from reflecting foil.

New automobile maps will be ready at the beginning of next year, new auto atlases will be ready in 3 years.

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POLITICS

POLAND

BRIEFS

MESSNER AT CONSTRUCTION AKTIV MEETING--Premier Zbigniew Messner met the aktiv of the building sector. The occasion was the approaching feast day. Over 20 representatives of crafts, cooperatives communal building and trade unionists took part. The meeting did not have a festive character as it was a matter-of-fact exchange of opinions. Much attention was paid to the most important problems of building; first, what should be done to reduce the list of those waiting for an apartment and second, how to raise the status of the building profession. Taking part in the meeting also was Jerzy Bajszczuk, minister of construction, regional planning, and the municipal economy. [Text] [Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 25 Sep 86] /9604

JARUZELSKI CABLE TO BATMONH--PAP, Pyongyang--Wojciech Jaruzelski, PZPR Central Committee first secretary and PPR State Council chairman, has sent the following telegram from his aircraft to Jambyn Batmonh, Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party [MPRP] Central Committee general secretary and chairman of the Presidium of the Great People's Hural of the Mongolian People's Republic [MPR]: "Leaving hospitable Mongolian territory, I wish to convey sincere thanks for the warm reception which you accorded us during our visit on your own behalf and on the part of the MPR party and state authorities and the friendly Mongolian people. I am deeply convinced that our visit and talks will serve to consolidate even more the traditional friendship joining our peoples, encourage a comprehensive development of mutually advantageous Polish-Mongolian ties, and tighten the bonds joining our parties. Expressing once again deep gratitude for the hospitality with which we were received in your beautiful country, I wish to convey to you, the MPRP Central Committee, the MPR Great People's Hural, and the entire fraternal Mongolian people best wishes for further success on the path of socialist construction and in the implementation of the ambitious tasks set by the 19th MPRP Congress in the struggle for peace and socialism." [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 25 Sep 86 p 8] /9604

UNION WEEKLY'S NEW PUBLISHER--As a result of an understanding with the publishing institute of the Labor Unions the publishing establishment "Dom Slowa Polskiego" [DSP] in Warsaw will take over the publication of the labor union movement's weekly, ZWIAZKOWIEC. At the publishing establishment many actions are being taken to modernize. This includes, for example, the introduction of modern printing methods which utilize photopolymers and computer type-setting. The various problems of production, social activities, and the work of the establishment union organization were brought up on 15 August during a meeting of Adam Miodowicz with the directors of DSP and the enterprise's socio-political activists. [Article: "DSP to Print ZWIAZKOWIEC"] [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 16-17 Aug 86 p 2] 12411/7051

TV COOPERATION WITH ARGENTINA--Buenos Aires, 27 Sep--An agreement on cooperation in television between the Argentine state TV network (ATC) and the Polish Radio and Television Committee has been signed here. The document, first of its kind in the history of Polish-Argentine relations, provides legal grounds for exchange of programmes and TV crews, coproduction, and technical cooperation. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 1927 GMT 27 Sep 86] /9604

DPRK GROUP LEAVES POLAND--Warsaw, 29 Sep--Today was the last day of the stay in Poland of a 120-strong group of members of the socialist working Youth League of Korea. The DPRK guests visited Otwock, outside Warsaw, whose community is a collective member of the Polish-Korean friendship society. They also visited the state children's home where a number of Korean children were staying during the Korean War. Tonight the DPRK guests left for Pyongyang. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 2039 GMT 29 Sep 86] /9604

PORTUGUESE DEMOCRATS VISIT--Warsaw, 29 Sep--A delegation of the Portuguese Democratic Movement (MDP) headed by its leader Jose Manuel Tengarrinha [name as received] visited Poland at the invitation of the PRON (Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth) National Council. The Portuguese delegation held talks with the leadership of the PRON National Council, its chairman Jan Dobraczynski, General Secretary Jerzy Jaskiernia, and members of the Presidium of the Executive Committee. The Portuguese guests briefed them on the aims and tasks of the movement, assessed the internal socio-political situation in Portugal and put forth proposals concerning cooperation. They invited the leadership of PRON National Council to visit Portugal. The Polish side spoke about the origins, attainments and the nearest tasks of the movement in the context of the general socio-political situation in Poland. The meeting of the Portuguese delegation with representatives of scientific milieus resulted in plans to start cooperation with the Polish Academy of Sciences (PAN) and the Maria Sklodowska-Curie University in Lublin. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 2150 GMT 29 Sep 86]

JOURNALISTS VISIT SPAIN--Madrid, 28 Sep--A delegation of the Journalists' Association of the Polish People's Republic (SD PRL) headed by its president Klemens Krzyzagorski paid a working visit to Spain between

22 and 28 September. The delegation held talks with the president of the Federation of Associations of Spanish Journalists (FAPE), Luis Apostua Polos in the effect of which the two organizations signed an agreement on cooperation in the years 1986-1990. [Excerpt] [Warsaw PAP in English 0637 GMT 29 Sep 86] /9604

ORZECZOWSKI MEETS COUNTERPARTS--New York, 1 Oct--Attending the 41st session of UN General Assembly in New York, Polish Foreign Minister Marian Orzechowski met with Cyprian Foreign Minister Yeoryios Iakovou. The ministers exchanged views on the subject of relations between both countries as well as on the Cyprian issue. Minister Orzechowski received Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea Kang Sok-ju [spelling as received]. The talk concerned Polish-Korean relations which, as it was stated with satisfaction, develop and [as received] Wojciech Jaruzelski's visit to Korea will be very significant for the development of friendship and comprehensive cooperation between both countries. Minister Marian Orzechowski also met with Indonesian Foreign Minister Mokhtar Kusumaatmaja. The ministers exchanged views on bilateral relations. Minister Orzechowski met with Jordanian Foreign Minister Tahir al-Masri. The talk focused on the Polish-Jordanian relations as well as on the Middle East issues. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 1110 GMT 1 Oct 86] /9604

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POLITICS

ROMANIA

NEED TO INTENSIFY ATHEISTIC EDUCATION

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 12, 20 Jun 86 pp 14-16

[Article by Univ Reader Dr Ioan Jinga: "Scientific-Materialist Indoctrination, Preparation of Youth for Work and Life"]

[Text] All-around preparation of youth for work and life is one of the major aims of RCP policy, and education plays a decisive part in it. In setting the long-range goals of development of schools on all levels in accordance with the requirements of national socioeconomic development and with the changes that had been made in the workers' cultural background, Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out in his Report to the Ninth Party Congress that "Romanian education plays an important part in the preparation of the young generations, in indoctrination of the new man and in raising the entire people's levels of culture and awareness."

On that basis the party general secretary initiated a series of measures to develop and improve education and to correlate it more and more closely with experience and the needs of socialist construction, establishing an innovating conception based on the principle of complete integration of education with scientific research and production and with social-political practice.

Characterized by an unprecedented vitality and benefiting by constant attention and clear guidelines from Nicolae Ceausescu, the direct supervision of Academician Dr Eng Elena Ceausescu, chairman of the National Council for Science and Technology, and a suitable material-organizational framework, Romanian education has undergone structural and qualitative changes in the last 20 years that place it among the most developed educational systems in the world. The superior and modern quality of current Romanian education lies in its ability to keep adjusting to the changes taking place in industry, agriculture, science and technology, the world of labor and the professions, culture and people's way of life. Designed as a uniform system based on the principle of regular education, a system including all forms of education from preschool to that for the adult masses, Romanian education actually and fully prepares youth for work and life and for participation in present and future social management. At the Congress on Science and Education Nicolae Ceausescu requested further efforts to bring education up to the standards of the new technical-scientific revolution and the fully developed socialist society. That aim primarily requires basing all training of youth on the RCP's revolutionary conception of the world and life.

As we know, social awareness may lag somewhat behind social existence at a given point, requiring a sustained theoretical, ideological, political and cultural-educational effort, coordinated as well as possible, to correlate the two aspects of social development as completely as possible.

One of the reasons for this lag is the persistence in people's thought and behavior of mystical-religious attitudes and practices whose roots are lost in the mists of the ages. Although the influence of religion has declined in the world somewhat thanks to unprecedented scientific advances, religious beliefs are still widespread and sometimes even extend their influence because of factors that differ from one social system to another, form one social category to another and from individual to individual. While in the societies based on exploitation and oppression religion persists primarily because of structural, class factors, in socialist society religious beliefs are kept alive chiefly by the influence of tradition or by individual psychological components.

In order to survive and extend its influence on the masses, religion keeps looking for new forms of social "adaptation" and "adjustment" of its dogmas and practices both to the scientific advances of the contemporary world and to the demands and interests of youth. While some religions entirely forbid their members to participate in social activity, requiring them to shirk a number of civic obligations, others try to involve themselves in the political management of society and even resort to various violent, antisocial practices. Some cults and sects display the same intolerance of science even today, while others, more "adaptable" to reality, promote the idea of "compatibility" between science and religion in order to distort scientific truths and to keep their members under the influence of their religious dogmas, which they try to withdraw from the area of traditional taboos and "modernize" by giving them the appearance of scientific theories.

Distracting people's attention from reality and diverting it to an illusory "happiness" in another world are for the obvious purpose of manipulating the awareness and guiding the individual's activity in a direction opposed to his vital interests to the point of depersonalizing him and accordingly imposing social passivism. Under these circumstances socialism naturally pays special attention to religious disalienation while the necessary conditions are being created for all-around development of the personality and for everyone's social integration with the general requirements of social development according to his aptitudes and real possibilities.

Nicolae Ceausescu says, "The persistence of mystical, backward ideas in some people's thinking retards their full advancement in society. It is anachronistic that there are still people and even party members who still believe in supernatural forces in the period of the great advances of the technical-scientific revolution and of knowledge, when the people are emerging as purposeful creators of all material and cultural values." The party general secretary accordingly emphasizes the need of taking "a firm stand against the various mystical and obscurantist manifestations that obstruct understanding of the real relations between man and nature, of the laws that govern the universe, and of objective requirements of social development and retard man's struggle for purposeful self-determination."

The workers' liberation from the moral weaknesses of the past and from any mystical, obscurantist ideas is facilitated now by some objective factors, economic, social and cultural and by political-ideological and cultural-educational work under the party's leadership. Development of the technical-material base of society and betterment of social relations, of the general standards of instruction, culture and knowledge, and of the people's material and cultural welfare favor all favor an effective effort toward scientific-materialist indoctrination of the masses of workers. Of course the results of this educational effort heavily depend upon its power to convince and influence people and how far it penetrates each individual's "inner world," freeing him of any mystical convictions. People can be mentally emancipated only by regular and continuous educational work competently, tactfully and patiently performed and by the combined efforts of all the progressive forces of Romanian socialist society. In order to promote suitable strategies for scientific-materialist indoctrination it is necessary to study and determine, by scientific investigative methods, the evolution of the quantitative and qualitative changes in religious belief in a given period for each of the groups involved in the educational process. That is the only way to secure a differentiated, even individualized influence, since it is well known that "en bloc" treatment of a heterogeneous group can lead to the opposite of the expected results.

Sociological studies in Romania and other countries as well reveal a great diversity of reasons for religious beliefs. In an attempt to summarize them, three main reasons could be singled out, namely the power of tradition (manifested in the influence of the social and family environment, as of friends and acquaintances), the "attraction" of religious rituals, and the illusion of "eternal bliss" in another world. Tradition is the reason most frequently given by the investigated subjects, whence the conclusion that scientific-materialist indoctrination of youth must begin with the family, by making all parents understand that religious indoctrination of children from the earliest age usually deprives them of the freedom of a knowledgeable choice. It should also be noted that religious belief for intellectual or emotional reasons is stronger than that based on tradition.

It is important for studies like the foregoing to determine whether the investigated persons know and understand the purpose, whether they believe in them, and how far they influence their outlook on the world and life and their behavior at work, in the family and in society. The frequency with which they participate in cult activities and their acceptance or rejection of believers in other religions are also important considerations for determining the aims, content and ways and means of scientific-materialist indoctrination. Differentiation of the objectives of scientific-materialist indoctrination and consequent determination of highly effective programs depend upon knowledge and consideration, in planning and implementing practical activity, of the factors that favor or impede the appearance and persistence of individual religious belief. If for example investigation reveals that the extent of a youth's information affects the degree of his belief in religion we should place the emphasis in indoctrination upon better scientific information of the youth through better correlation of the school programs with those of the mass media and cultural institutions and also upon philosophical interpretation of the disciplines and formation of materialist convictions.

The RCP regards scientific-materialist indoctrination of youth and the adult masses as an integral part of the revolutionary process of reforming people's thinking and behavior, freeing them from superstitions, prejudices and the moral weaknesses of the past, and arming them with a scientific system of knowledge of the world and life, with the tools needed to distinguish the good from the bad and the progressive from the backward, and with a set of values in keeping with the Romanian socialist order and the profoundly humanistic policy of the party and state. The RCP Program clearly states that "Mastery of the scientific conception of the world and development of the masses' socialist awareness are essential factors in building the fully developed socialist society and in the transition to communism."

Preventing and combatting mystical attitudes and religious rituals is a comprehensive process based on the unity of requirements and specific action of all elements composing the system of regular education, wherein the school plays the primary part as the specially organized social institution that influences the entire youth of the nation for a period of at least 10 years.

Since the freedom of the legal sects and each one's religious beliefs is respected, scientific-materialist indoctrination can gain ground in the struggle with obscurantism only by making the truth known on the collective and individual levels that man is his own master and that no supernatural power can determine his awareness, feelings or attitudes above or beyond his own will.

As a process of knowledge, education is the best framework for forming children's and youth's scientific conception of the world and life. There is practically no subject of study that cannot contribute from positions of historical and dialectical materialism to the formation of this conception and to philosophical conclusions properly drawn from the new scientific data. In support of these assertions we give a few examples of projects from various subjects studied in high schools in order to illustrate the huge resources the schools have for scientific education of youth, such as the unity of matter and motion, the role of mechanics in forming the materialist conception of the universe, the theory of relativity and the development of the scientific conception of time and space, the complementary and determinist character of physics, the structural complexity of matter as a confirmation of the material unity of the world and a refutation of theological conclusions about the nature of the world, the periodic system of elements as proof of the capacity to know, predict and transform the world, chemical balance as a phase of the unity and conflict of opposites, laboratory organic synthesis as a critical stage in the development of science and in combatting spiritualist, theological and fatalist ideas, criticism of religious ideas of the origin of life, cognizability of the laws determining transmission of characteristics, evolutionism as a criticism of fideism, the dialectical-materialist explanation of the motion of the universe, criticism of unscientific interpretations of the cosmos, the formative role of geographic environment in adopting active behavior to protect nature and to strike a balance in man's relationship to his environment, the great classic writers' contribution to opposition to obscurantism and backward, mystical ideas, secularization of myths as a reflection of social, cultural and scientific development, religion as an obstruction to cultural development, etc.

All these projects, accompanied by suitable teaching materials (films, slides laboratory equipment etc.) and correlated with the scientific conclusions drawn

from the other lessons and practical activities, demonstrative or experimental, give the pupils access to the fundamentals and basic truths of the contemporary sciences and offer them alternatives to the religious principles and dogmas providing a fantastic and distorted explanation of the world around them. The persuasive power of the scientific theories and ideas obviously depend heavily upon the educators' competence as well as the soundness of their own scientific conception of the world and life.

Consistent conformity of the whole educational process to the RCP's scientific conception, the scientific content of every teaching activity, educational application of the lessons and other school activities, regular comparison of the scientific with the unscientific theories, correlations among the subjects studied and between them and productive activity in order to give the pupils an overview of events in nature and society, cultivation of ethical standards based on historical- and dialectical-materialist philosophy, and continuing elevation of the educators' political, ideological, scientific and cultural levels, all of those are also levers with which the schools are expected to bring atheistic indoctrination of youth up to a higher qualitative level.

In addition to the schools' educational resources, there are those of the children's and youth organizations, including the scientific and applied-technical circles, scientific brigades, scientific discussion clubs, visits to museums, factories and plants, research institutes, astronomical observatories, planetariums etc. in the course of which youths can meet scientists and scholars, initiate themselves in the secrets of scientific research, ask questions to clarify various problems they encounter in the tortuous process of scientific learning, or (Why not?) compare some mystical explanations of natural and social phenomena they have heard from grandparents, parents or acquaintances with the arguments of scholars in various fields.

Whatever ways and means are used, the content and methods of scientific-materialist indoctrination must be adjusted to the ages and levels of comprehension of the children and youths. For high-school and trade-school pupils, discussions, case studies or analyses of literary works giving rise to mystical interpretations or of some aspects of the contemporary religious phenomenon can be used, and for pupils in the final grades, generalizations and abstractions based on a sufficient theoretical-philosophical training. Pupils in the lower grades require factual materials selected from the environment suited to their specific thinking and limited knowledge and experience, as well as observation of natural phenomena (rising and setting of the sun, origin of thunder and lightning, succession of the seasons, growth and development of plants and animals, etc.) and help in understanding the essentials and the causal connections between phenomena. Moreover explanations, stories or readings of texts accompanied by illustrative materials, film strips, slides, records or magnetic tapes are highly important for forming the children's concepts of such things as life, death, birth, growth, development, time, space etc., which play an essential part in formation of their scientific-materialist conception.

The requirements that transmission of scientific knowledge is to be accompanied by philosophical conclusions and that sound materialist convictions and behavioral habits based on the most advanced gains of science and human knowledge are to be formed throughout the system of programs and influences are vitally important for children and youths of any age.

It is generally known that Romanian youth are being trained today for a definite, active life of work and that in socialist society the various influential educational elements supplement each other. The theatrical and musical institutions, publishing houses, press, radio and TV, the National Cîntarea României Festival, scientific academies and societies and the political and professional organizations make an extensive effort toward mass dissemination of scientific knowledge, the conclusions of historical- and dialectical materialism, and the effects of science upon general social development. But the collaboration and coordinated efforts and programs of these important elements sometimes leave something to be desired, with bad effects both on educational effectiveness and in prolongation of some situations that are anachronistic in the period of man's flight into the cosmos. And it is not for lack of suitable political and organizational structures. A unified program for political-ideological, technical-scientific, cultural-educational and athletic activities has been instituted for the pupils. Councils for political education and socialist culture and, more recently, councils for science and education have been formed that coordinate the programs and actions for scientific-materialist indoctrination under the party organs' leadership. Accordingly some defects are largely due to the inertia and red tape that sometimes characterizes the activity of institutions and bodies with functions of this kind, while scientific-materialist indoctrination of youths or adults is an activity that excludes formalities and delays. It must be grafted upon the whole system of all-around communist education and constantly directed toward such objectives as formation of scientific thought, stimulation of interest in science and knowledge and of enthusiasm for the new, improved occupational training, and creative involvement in the solution of the problems of national socioeconomic development according to the programs approved by the 13th RCP Congress.

Beyond its explanatory aspect and that of clarification of the problems of knowledge that have accompanied man throughout his whole historical evolution, scientific-materialist indoctrination also has an important social dimension that helps to integrate him in work and life, gives him confidence in himself and in the human community, and enables him to develop and fulfill his aptitudes and talents and participate purposefully and actively in social progress.

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